

Men behind coup in Seychelles keep identities a secret

Jacques Hodoul, a young speaking for the unidentified leaders of the coup iniles on Sunday, said yesterday no harm was intended to

foreign visitors, there was no intention of creating a one-party state. "Only the Soviet and Chinese embassies have not had the courtesy to contact us," he said.

Britons tell of gunpoint threats

Mahé, June 6.—of foreign tourists fined in their hotels curfew today after a raid by a group of anonymous.

iques Hodoul, how-year-old member of committee of the People's Union, reporters at the police station: "We born to foreign hope tourism will mainly of our

ing the coup, he said a man moved into the early hours.

The central police guard by armed was captured virtually shot being fired. A police station in Montburb, where the main enal is kept, was taken battle in which one and one defender were said.

doul said that since 500 policemen on the which have no armed id sworn allegiance to leadership and there no further incidents.

doul, a Marxist who ad triamed as a lawyer and Paris, said forident Mancham, who ed yesterday while he for the Common conference, would not return. He added authors of the coup remain anonymous and it was restricted "be are alert to the danger individuals abroad tryid in mercenaries".

"We hope they do whom has South African Saudi Arabian friends they do we are ready them." doul described as ab- Mancham's allegations

in London that the coup was supported by the Soviet Union. Only the Soviet and Chinese embassies have not had the courtesy to contact us by telephone yet," he said.

At the airport on the main Seychelles island of Mahé, rifles were being trained on arriving passengers but the airport was working normally.

Hotels were told not to serve alcoholic drinks, which has taken some of the edge off dancing in starlight to the sound of breakers, but Mr Hodoul left open the possibility the curfew might be lifted as early as tomorrow.

He described the 200 men who started the coup as militants. "They're taxi drivers, labourers, ordinary people, any of them," he said.

Mr Hodoul said the Constitution and National Assembly had been suspended. Government was by presidential decree while a new constitution was drawn up and preparations made for elections in 1979.

He added there would be no retaliation against members of the former government and the country would remain a pluralistic democracy. "We are not imposing a one-party state," he said.

Mr Albert René, who assumed the presidency at the invitation of the revolutionary groups yesterday, today announced a seven-man Cabinet.

The list included three members of the previous government, in which Mr René was Prime Minister. It also included Mr Hodoul as Minister of Education and Culture—Reuter.

Coups threats: Five British police officers expelled from the Seychelles, who arrived back in London, spoke of being threatened with sub-machine guns.

wanted abley to grow jar

British footballers who were said to have from the Wembley last Saturday's international were each fined ordered to pay £50 ion at Bow Street's Court, London, yes-

British Magistrates' mber, five Scottish were fined amounts on £75 to £238 for including breach of criminal damage, assault, in what was by Mr John Whiteman of the bench, as a worst breach of the we have ever had.

Street Court, one of appertains ordered to was James aged 21, an aircraft Cassells Road, May-Avr, who said after The turf was from here Kenny Dalglish winning goal. It was in square, and I to take it home and jar on my mantle just watch it grow over the match.

British footballers who were said to have from the Wembley last Saturday's international were each fined ordered to pay £50 ion at Bow Street's Court, London, yes-

British footballers who were said to be on to Wembley without they called at the ool.

Inspector Leslie said there was scale confrontation a Scotsman and local lasses, bottles, and were thrown about; a s molested, and a r was buried in the ness said: "All hell. It was like being of a Wild West

all with pre- cisions for violence, offences and some pay for the £100

and urged: Mr Fletcher, MP for North, and an spokesman on last called yesterday setting up of a fund to repair Scotland's for the estimated damage by Scottish on Saturday. he would be happy first contribution,

US set to produce new 'neutron bomb'

From Fred Emery

Washington, June 6.—A new nuclear warhead that kills by greater neutron radiation rather than blast is being proposed for the short-range Lance tactical missile stationed in Europe, the Washington Post reported.

The newspaper alleged that production funds are "buried" in a public works Bill before Congress under a request for the Energy Research and Development Administration (Erdia), the rump of the reorganized old Atomic Energy Commission, which builds nuclear weapons.

According to Mr Alfred Starbird, an Erdia official, the new Lance missile warhead will reduce the blast effect and get the kill radius you want through enhanced radiation.

The newspaper states that the warhead is the first practical application of the "neutron bomb" concept, which uses neurons to attack the central nervous system resulting in rapid death.

Freed train hostages say boredom causing stress

Asen, June 6.—The first captives to be released from the train hijacked by South Moluccan terrorists said today that the 53 remaining hostages were under severe mental stress.

Two pregnant women who were freed yesterday were giving the first brief account of conditions inside the train since it was seized.

To pass the time some of the 35 male hostages have taken up knitting, and the Government has had to dispatch more wool to the train to meet the unexpectedly heavy demand—Reuter.

Leading article, page 11

A triumphant Mr Ecevit greets supporters.

Photograph, page 7

A triumphant Mr Ecevit greets supporters.

Photograph, page 7

Heads want to see parents made responsible

The National Association of Head Teachers called for parents to be made responsible for damage or injury caused by school hooligans. The association at its annual conference, at Southport, also proposed a national assessment scheme at the age of five for all children so that girls could be identified early.

Wheelchair hijacker

Kuwait security officials questioned a 27-year-old Lebanese cripple in a wheelchair who hijacked a Middle East Airlines Boeing 707 and demanded a sum of 1.5m Kuwaiti dinars (£3m) before being overpowered by commandos. The 105 passengers and 10 crew were freed uninjured.

Brearley appointed as Test captain

Michael Brearley of Middlesex, who has played for England eight times and has captained England in the Prudential Trophy one-day cricket matches, was yesterday appointed as captain of England in the first two matches of the forthcoming Test series against Australia. The first Test match begins at Lord's on Thursday

Page 13

Obituary, page 12

HOME NEWS.

Parents should pay for damage by school hooligans, heads say

From Diane Geddes
Education Correspondent

Southport Parents should be made responsible for any injury or damage caused by school hooligans, the National Association of Head Teachers decided at its annual conference, at Southport, yesterday.

The association, whose 19,000 members represent two thirds of all head teachers in state secondary and primary schools, also called for severer punishments for young offenders and for the lowering of the age of criminal responsibility.

Mr Terence Delahunt, of Long Lane Junior School, Warrington, Cheshire, said that in the early formative years children should not grow up thinking that they had nothing to fear from the law.

Mr David Robertson, of Peckham City Junior School, Warrington, said: "Repairs in schools in Merseyside, Birmingham, Cheshire, Lancashire and Cleveland cost £75,000 last year. That was equivalent to providing 286 new teaching posts. Only £220 had been recovered."

If children under 10 were not to be considered responsible for their criminal misdeeds, then parents should be, he said. The Government should be urged to impose heavier compulsory fines, he suggested.

The association decided to leave vague the wording of the motion proposing that violent young offenders "should be more severely punished". It also called for a national assessment scheme at the age of five for all children.

Proposing the motion, Mr A. Macmillan, of Hall Green School, Birmingham, said it was essential to identify lack of development early, and to give infants the resources to overcome difficulties.

In his local authority area there were screening procedures for six-year-olds in all schools. That enabled the

Planning official to get job back

From Christopher Walker
Letterkenny

authority to take appropriate action.

Mrs Janee Leake, of Four Dwellings Junior School, Birkenhead, seconding the motion, said her main concern in writing tests for children at five was to provide definite information for the public to evaluate pupils and teachers more fairly.

Mrs Leake said one had only to walk into a reception class to find children with no or often very limited speech because nobody ever talked to them, or read stories or nursery rhymes to them.

One would also find, Mrs Leake, said, children unable to eat solid food because they had been fed convenient baby foods, and there were rare cases of children unable to walk because they had been kept in cots.

There were also children made aggressive through isolation and lack of social training, who were unable to play because their constructive skills were still dormant.

Mr Geoffrey Lawes, of Welsh Schools, Birminghams, Sussex, said that any attempt to remove responsibility for curricula from teachers to school managers, county councillors, the Confederation of British Industry, or the Department of Education and Science would stifle enterprise in schools. "We are the best and most impartial judges," he said.

With one vote against, the conference passed a motion, proposed by Mr Lawes, welcoming discussion with representative groups in society, but affirming that "the responsibility for the curriculum should be retained by the head teachers in consultation with their staff".

Differentials "eroded": In a debate on pay, the conference adopted an executive resolution deplored the erosion of differentials caused by government policy on inflation (the Press Association reports). It called for restoration of differentials.

Lecturers plan to increase opposition to education cuts

From Sue Reid, of The Times Higher Education Supplement

A warning of strengthened and consolidated action next autumn by polytechnic and college lecturers against proposed education spending cuts was given yesterday by Mr Tom Driver, general secretary of the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education, which has 70,000 members.

Speaking at the union's annual conference at Harrogate, he predicted that unless an effective campaign was launched right across education the Government's proposals would severely damage provision at all levels.

The 400 delegates had earlier declared opposition to education and social services cuts, and instructed the union's executive to step up the campaign of opposition.

A call for a public sector union alliance to include the National Union of Teachers, which has 260,000 members, and local government employees to present a united front nationally and locally against the cuts also succeeded.

The conference declared its opposition to the size of the cuts in teacher training pro-

vision after Mr Driver had appealed for recognition that some rationalization was necessary.

A motion seeking the union's affiliation to the national abortion campaign was lost by a small majority, despite demands for the move from women delegates in the union's Inner London branch. But there was support for informal links with organizations campaigning to expand and maintain abortion rights and facilities.

Mrs Sandy Grant, an Inner London delegate, told the conference that recent legislation on sex discrimination and equal pay was inadequate. She successfully sought a continued campaign to end inadequacies in the provision of equal opportunities in further and higher education.

"The conference should be in no doubt about the long-term rights of women. The Government requires educating about this issue and the key to equal rights lies in cooperation among teachers."

Earlier, delegates had defied the union's executive by demanding the removal of restrictions on free collective bargaining, and underlining their opposition to the present concept of the social contract.

State boards displeased by pay award

By Staff Reporter

Members of state industry boards are not satisfied by the recent government announcement that they are to be paid the increase allowed under phase two of the income policy.

They say they have had no significant salary adjustment since 1972.

Mr Denis Dodds, chairman of the Association of Members of State Industry Boards, says government discrimination against his members is based on inaccurate information.

The Top Salaries Review Board, he says, recommended similar increases for most state industry board members and permanent and deputy secretaries in the Civil Service. But while the Government party implemented the recommendations regarding civil servants, members of state boards were given no increase.

MP asks about new refinery

Sir Bernard Braine, Conservative MP for Essex, South-East, has asked the Secretary of State for the Environment to determine plant by Occidental Petroleum, the American oil company, for the further development of a refinery at Cawley Island.

In practice only a small amount has been allowed to come to Windscale from Japan, and future consignments will be considered on a case-by-case basis under the present policy.

One reason for the Americans' hesitation lies in the fact that plutonium extracted at Windscale would belong to the country from whence it came.

The difficulty for the United

Poll contest in wild and rugged Irish countryside is most significant from British point of view

Two outstanding candidates in Donegal

From Christopher Walker
Letterkenny

An industrial tribunal in Glasgow yesterday ruled that Mr Peter Laxton, aged 28, a planning department employee, was unfairly dismissed after writing to a local newspaper criticizing plans for redevelopment of his town centre. It ordered his reinstatement, reburdened Kilmarnock and Loudoun District Council, Strathclyde, for attempting to muzzle Mr Laxton, and ordered him to be paid £1,074 compensation, less social security and unemployment payments of £335.

Mr R. A. Bennett, QC, chairman of the tribunal, said that Mr Laxton's letter to the *Kilmarnock Standard*, urging members of the council to reject the planning application for phase two of the Kilmarnock central area redevelopment, did not constitute a breach of confidence, as maintained by a council official at the hearing.

Mr Peter Eager, director of administration for the council, said two other employees who had signed the letter were also dismissed but were reinstated later.

Mr Blaney, dismissed as Fianna Fail Minister for Agriculture after his involvement in the controversial Dublin arms trials in 1970, has remained the most consistent voice of militant republicanism in Irish politics ever since. From his seat perched high in the Dail chamber he has launched a stream of abuse against the coalition government for its alleged collaboration with the British.

His importance in the

present contest arises from his real chance of achieving his central political aim, to hold the balance of power with his one other party colleague, Mr Paddy Keaveney, when the votes are counted on June 17. The last election was decided by a majority of two seats and that one could be equally close.

The somewhat shadowy man has produced a hard-line manifesto which demands immediate British withdrawal from Ulster and hinges on the scrapping of all judicial, military and police cooperation across the border with what is described as "the occupation forces in the six counties". Mr Blaney has made it clear that that part of his programme is non-negotiable if he is asked to provide support for a new Fianna Fail administration.

A man with one of the most polished individual political machines in the country, Mr Blaney is certain to win a seat for himself, but the extent of his eventual bargaining power will not be known until the results are counted. That Mr Harte is also regarded as a certain winner in Donegal is essentially Irish, as a recent survey in one of Dublin's leading newspapers showed. Commenting on the chances of one of the candidates, the paper declared: "The fact that he has at least 34 cousins and a holiday home in the new part of the constituency will certainly help him."

As chairman of the Donegal County Council, Mr Harte has devoted most of his considerable energies to an uphill struggle to improve co-operation at all levels between local

authorities on both sides of the border. At a meeting in Dublin earlier this year he persuaded all the councils in the south to agree in principle to appoint liaison officers to link up with their opposite numbers in the north.

A personal friend of Mr Harte, a former leading member of the Ulster Defence Association, Mr Harte has cheerfully pursued his campaign for cooperation in the face of considerable apathy. "I believe that it is something that is vital and has to start at a social level", he said. "Even contacts between members of trade unions and golf clubs can sow important seeds for the future."

The physical presence of the border has ensured that the Ulster issue will be more to the forefront in Donegal than farther south. It has also added fire to the debate about inflation, which is central to the national campaign, with the lower British prices for consumer products easily and damagingly comparable.

But however northerly its aspect, the character of the election in Donegal is essentially Irish, as a recent survey in one of Dublin's leading newspapers showed. Commenting on the chances of one of the candidates, the paper declared: "The fact that he has at least 34 cousins and a holiday home in the new part of the constituency will certainly help him."

Free vote 'proof of lo authority in Cabinet'

By George Clark
Political Correspondent

Mr Callaghan's decision to allow senior ministers freedom to abstain or vote against the Government's Bill on direct elections to the European Parliament was further evidence that he had lost authority over his Cabinet. Mr John Davies, opposition spokesman on foreign and Commonwealth affairs, said yesterday.

The Prime Minister wants to be able to report to the European summit meeting in London on June 29 that he has kept his pledge to the European leaders "to use his best endeavours" to get the legislation on direct elections through Parliament.

He will have to rely on the votes of the Conservatives and the Liberals, with the votes of pro-European Labour MPs and ministers, to carry the Bill on second reading.

"If senior ministers are to vote that way they like on direct elections to Europe it will be one more proof that the Prime Minister has been stripped of authority over his Cabinet," Mr Davies said.

The Bill has been delayed for several months because of disagreements in the Cabinet which reflect the split in the Labour Party outside Westminster. There is now a big demand from left-wingers for the party to change its attitude to EEC membership. They are urging trade unions

and constituency parties to submit resolutions for the conference at Brighton October urging the whole of the United Kingdom to Community.

They believe that if I entered the next general election with such a manifesto the top of its manifesto party would win back a ground lost to other since October, 1974, and back to office.

Liberal warning: A Liberal party chairman yesterday that the party withdraws from its pact with the Government unless wingnuts like Mr Wed Benn were "controlled". Press Association reports.

Mr Cyril Carr, a councillor at a Liberal meeting in yesterday that the party withdraws from its pact with the Government unless wingnuts like Mr Wed Benn were "controlled". Press Association reports.

The Prime Minister controls his own Cabinet will find himself without and with a divided party.

"We Liberal's base is him in office in the interest but he cannot us to put up with the behaviour of his left wing longer. The national does not include going solemn international re

Fear of Britain's becoming nuclear dustbin of world

By Pearce Wright
Science Editor

Contracts worth £600m from overseas customers are in the balance until a decision is reached over plans to build a new type of reprocessing plant at Windscale, Cumbria.

The most important is the arrangement to take large amounts of fuel from Japanese power stations, which led to an allegation of making Britain the nuclear dustbin of the world.

Yet agreement between the Japanese power companies and British Nuclear Fuels was reached some time ago. For six months the fuel company has been waiting only for government permission on a Cabinet decision to sign the contract.

In practice the Anglo-Japanese arrangement has implications that are far from straightforward. Most of the spent fuel to be reprocessed at Windscale is enriched uranium oxide supplied by the American Energy Research and Development Agency under safeguards to prevent proliferation of potential weapons material.

As the main supplier of fuel to the light-water reactors, the American nuclear supply agency can allow the spent fuel to be transferred to a third country for storage and possibly reprocessing only under a license conforming to the United States Government's arms control conditions.

In practice only a small amount has been allowed to come to Windscale from Japan, and future consignments will be considered on a case-by-case basis under the present policy.

One reason for the Americans' hesitation lies in the fact that plutonium extracted at Windscale would belong to the country from whence it came.

Extraction of plutonium began over 25 years ago with

States, which inevitably causes trouble for British Nuclear Fuels, is how to pursue its recent moratorium of reprocessing in a way that does not force other countries to establish their own facilities, which could be exploited for military ends.

A solution receiving support from British Nuclear Fuels, and assuredly a topic for close scrutiny over the coming weeks, is for reprocessing at a handful of internationally supervised regional fuel centres organized under the most rigorous safeguards.

The contract under which 1,600 tonnes of fuel will be processed during the next 10 years faces difficulties under existing conditions.

Throughout the negotiations the Japanese officials have helped their British counterparts to circumvent the main snag by a clause excluding liability if the United States Government causes trouble by refusing re-export licences for Japanese fuel.

British Nuclear Fuels is not alone in this morass. A contract for an equal amount of reprocessing for Japan has reached the same stage with Cogema, the French company. Clearly the political aspects of nuclear energy are going to rumble on for a long time.

At the heart of the matter is the ultimate fate of plutonium extracted during reprocessing. Under contracts with overseas countries made by British Nuclear Fuels, that material

is retained in liquid form in double-walled stainless steel tanks underground. The tanks are cooled continuously by coils containing a flow of cold water.

Oxide fuels are to be dealt with by a similar process. In practice there are greater technical difficulties in processing this form of material. Reactors with enriched uranium release about six times more energy from one tonne of fuel than the Magnox reactor with natural uranium. The fuel is clad in Zircaloy or stainless steel to withstand higher operating temperatures.

There is a penalty for using this so-called "higher burn-up fuel". The irradiated fuel elements become more difficult to handle during reprocessing.

About a quarter of the fuel elements in a reactor are replaced each year. Irradiated

material is stored in cooling ponds at power stations for several weeks to allow the bulk of the unspent by-products consisting of short-lived fission products to decay. The spent fuel is then transported in flakes of steel 14 inches thick and weighing about 70 tonnes to hold a container of three tonnes of irradiated fuel.

Magnox fuel elements are subject to corrosion, and therefore have to be reprocessed. At Windscale material is placed again in storage pond.

The first stage of reprocessing is removal of the canister by a remote control operation. That is followed by dissolution of the fuel in acid and then chemical separation of the residual uranium, the plutonium and the waste fission products.

Plutonium is added to the stockpile. Waste fission products are further treated: some are discharged as low-level wastes in the sea, others are kept in containers for contaminated solid wastes, and the long-lived substances are retained in liquid form in double-walled stainless steel tanks underground. The tanks are cooled continuously by coils containing a flow of cold water.

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Next: Radioactive v

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Levels of containments over the next years by the generation of the United Kingdom soon absorb the capacity to reprocess plutonium available to a user country, and the next plans for plutonium reactors. Manufacturers are under much pressure than Britain to ready the United States to look into reprocessing energy savings.

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VER JUBILEE

**Birmingham hopes to keep alive
the street party spirit with
committees for community care**

By Oman and Parker

thousands of street parties were arranged to celebrate the Queen's visit yesterday in some areas, while others will be followed in many others today.

In West Midlands an effort will be made to keep the community spirit alive. Mrs Freda Lord Mayor of Birmingham called a conference at 18 to which jubilee committees are invited to send delegations.

is anxious to see the Queen remain in being as a permanent focus for community care in each street. They will be able to aged and disabled and vandalism.

would be a shame if all work in breaking barriers between neighbours and the creation of a lively spirit were to be lost as the celebration, she said. The establishment of "jubilee streets" be a permanent and lasting memorial to the Queen's reign.

Mrs Cocks will spend hours touring dozens of street parties organized by Birmingham's jubilee committee, which has replaced the original festival.

Four or so babies born in the city today will each receive an engraved silver mug presented at a party for

them and their parents later in the year, although Mrs Cocks will see some of the arrivals when she tours three maternity hospitals today.

At Lichfield, Staffordshire, every child and members of staff on the roll of Christ Church School today will receive a ceramic medallion made by Thelma Leech, a local potter. Only 400 have been produced and the mould will be destroyed to ensure that the medallions keep their rarity value.

Two large banners from Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee and the coronation of Edward VII and Queen Alexandra have been found in perfect condition at Fazeley, Staffordshire, and will help to decorate today's celebrations. They were discovered in the clock tower of the town hall.

The centre of Manchester yesterday was grim and grey, with almost deserted streets and no official decorations, although there are some notable exceptions.

It is not because the area is less than loyal to the Crown. It is simply, according to Mr Thomas Butterbarrow, the city's public relations officer, a case of heading the Government's advice not to spend too much in view of the general economic state of the country.

In addition Manchester is saving its energies for the Queen's visit on June 20, and for September, when the centenary of the building of Manchester Town Hall is to be held, along with the first lord mayor's parade to be held.

In Moss Side and Fallowfield, areas that have been redeveloped with huge blocks of flats, it is a rare sight to see a flag or picture of the Queen. The older, more familiar signs of terraced housing, on the other hand, seem to be much more involved in celebrating.

In Blackpool, Lancashire, the large Asian community, about a tenth of the population, is involved more than expected with jubilee celebrations. Mr Leonard Proos, the community relations officer, said it was encouraging to see Asians taking part in the organization of multicultural street parties in places such as Brookhouse.

Warrington has dozens of street parties organized for today. So have Rochdale, Oldham, Leigh, and other towns and communities on the periphery of the Greater Manchester conurbation.

Some street parties organized for yesterday had to be called off because of the rain.

Liverpool, like Manchester, is saving most of its celebrations for the Queen's visit on June 21, although hundreds of street parties have been organized for today.

Leading article, page 11

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Leading article, page 11

land

**oic beacon-builders
ttle with weather**

Donald Faux

is not the weather for a jubilee beacon last night. A deep cloud and heavy rain the breach of the stoic light-bearers on 26 prominent landmarks in appealing.

metreological station atie Castle, in Fife, had news for the thousands of callers who telephoned. "The weather is wretched," an told them. The reason well marked depression on Stranraer and head for Greenock, leaving all of squalls, down strong winds.

at the beacons were on exposed sites in the us. The first in the east and central Scotland at Duncraig Hill, near the second on Scaur the Pendarves, and the third, the Seat, above Edinburgh, continuing

don

**leet revellers brave the
n and bitter wind**

er Berthoud

is, by common consent, weather for street "Parishing cold" was that sprang to some. "More like Christmas jubilee" was another thought as two days of celebrations got way in London streets.

eds of streets had been to traffic. Yesterday burning strained at windows in bitter winds. were out, and there frequent dashes for cover as came and went, primarily, an occasion drawn with some adult in the evenings. Sand could be produced from of helpers only at minute to be laid on rows of tables, in case blew away. Record had to be taken indoors away from windows of the rain. But the least did not seem the strained element gallery.

Gardens, in Southwark London, provided typical suburban setting such brave gathering stone's throw from the circular and from the railway line from King's

proud to be British child's drawing in one Inside number 32 Mrs Macmillan, chirpy, and competent, was super tea arrangements. red roses best against the leaded

es

agon gives way to Jack

revor Fishlock

Red Dragon, even though pokes our defiantly tail is twisted into a independent curl, is, an amiable and courteous, and has to a large given way to the Union the jubilee decorations streets of Wales.

day the flags were and damp, much like itself, and the street organizers had plans to ent the emergency pro-enforced in the verse: If Wet In Village

decorators spent hours good the damage caused by wind, vicious rain

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Leading article, page 11

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Donald Faux

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In addition Manchester is saving its energies for the Queen

Royal signposts marking the nation's long history

Modern idea set in reign of George III

The modern jubilee was inaugurated in 1809 for the fiftieth anniversary of George III's accession. It was a British institution, whose rules and guidelines were established in the columns of *The Times*, already the tribal newsletter of the ruling class. From there it has been widely adopted around the world. It is instructive and amusing to read the evolution of the modern jubilee in the dusty back numbers of *The Times*.

In 1809 the Napoleonic crisis was at its height. The King was fading in health, but he was more popular and respected than in 1785, and people were alarmed by the prospect of the succession of the Prince of Wales. The idea of the modern jubilee was proposed by an anonymous letter in *The Times* signed "Jubal", proposing an Act of Grace, and citing with much erudition the authority of Scripture and the practice of all ages.

The idea caught on in a remarkable way. There were bitter debates in the City of London and the correspondence columns of *The Times* about whether the money raised should be spent on a dinner and illuminations or on the relief of debtors. *The Times* published a whole column of Latin hexameters and Sapphics "written by a youth" in praise of the monarch. A translation of a stanza of Sapphics gives the flavour: "O George, our hope and fond delight, For thee 'gainst each extreme we'll fight; For thee we'll suffer all." *The Times* has decided, reluctantly, to spare its readers Latin verse for this jubilee. In 1809 we listed half-dozen of jubilee sermons and their texts from all over the country: item, at St Mary's, Whitechapel, the Rector preached on 24 Proverbs 21: "My son, fear thou the Lord, and the King; and meddle not with them that are given to change." There was a heated correspondence alleging that the jubilee was nothing but a party political manoeuvre, designed to divert attention from the incompetence of the Ministry and the shame of the Walcheren Expedition, which had just added £20m to the National Debt, and had covered so many families with mourning. It was said, in what was to remain a common theme of jubilees, that the general wish was that a more efficient administration might aid His Majesty in sustaining the burden and cares of Government.

It was proposed that each county should raise subscriptions for "ladies of faded charm and fortune". The King entered into the spirit of the occasion, freed all Crown debtors, pardoned deserters, issued special food to the Services, allowed all prisoners of war on parole to go home, except for the French, and negotiated a "cartel" with France for the exchange of aged and infirm POWs. There were widespread thanksgivings, feasts, illuminations, and roasting to the music of brass bands, which were to become indispensable rituals of future jubilees. A prodigious quantity of strong beer was consumed. The allowance for jubilee day was two quarts for a man, one quart for a woman, and half a pint for a child. "Grieved though not utterly dispirited by



FADING IN HEALTH BUT POPULAR AND RESPECTED

the Empire, will be found to have exhibited greater marks of the best virtues that enrich the human heart.

The debtor has been set free; the hungry have been fed; and the naked, in many instances, have been clothed. In all such cases, vanity and fashion may have led many to acts of generosity; but we should not be over-scrupulous in our enquiries into the motives of conferring general benefit, and producing happiness to thousands, though it be but for a day. We are satisfied, that to the general character of our countrymen and countrywomen, no such suspicion ever attaches; and that the blessing of "him that has none to help him", will fall upon no small number. Such an union of piety and charity, while it is a comfort to ourselves individually, brings out, and makes a happy exposition to Europe and the world, of the national character of Britons; and thus combining moral and political good, is, we believe, in a word, "that righteousness which exalteth a nation".

At one o'clock, the Tower guns fired, and the Guards assembled on the parade in St James's Park, and fired a few de jure in honour of the event. After church hours, the streets were crowded with the population of the Metropolis, in decent or lively attire; every house pouring forth its inhabitants: the number of well dressed persons, and the display of the genuine beauty of a great majority of the sex, who do not constantly shine at "midnight dances, and the public show", but whom this celebration brought into public view, exceeded any former example. Most of them wore ribbons of garter blue, and many wore medals with the profile of the King. The magnificent preparations for the evening were the general objects of notice, which the serenity of such a day, as October does not often see, gave them full opportunity of observing, while the Volunteer Corps, returning from their respective parades, enlivened the scene with a martial as well as patriotic and a festive feature.

The forenoon was dedicated to public worship and the acknowledgment of the Divine Providence (exemplified in the protection of his Majesty's person, and of the many national blessings almost exclusively enjoyed by the inhabitants of the United Kingdom) in every parish church and chapel; and we add with pleasure, that among the various classes of dissenters of all persuasions, we have heard of no exception to the general loyalty and piety of the day. Indeed, we sincerely believe, that the blessings of toleration are too deeply felt, and the advantages of the British Constitution too generally acknowledged, to give room for any material difference of opinion in any respectable portion of society. The cathedral, the abbey, the parochial church, the meeting-house of the Dissenter, the chapel of the Methodist and the Catholic, and the synagogue of the Israelite, were alike opened for this interesting occasion. All French persons of distinction in London assisted at a grand mass.

All the shops were closed. The Lord Mayor and the whole civic body went in procession to St Paul's; and it was truly gratifying, amid the multitudes in the streets, of both sexes of every rank and description, to see the children of our innumerable charitable institutions, walking to their respective places of Divine Worship. Piety and charity must ever go hand in hand, and for this reason we are well pleased with the celebration of an event, which is the cause of general and national hospitality and benevolence. This is, in fact, the true nature, the best blessing, and the nearest resemblance to the origin and ancient practice of a Jubilee. The annals of no nation, we fondly believe, when the accounts reach us from different parts of

the world which is seething with unrest and uncertainty. Today we stand a little chastened perhaps, but reciting in the fact that our Monarchs and institutions survive, and in the certainty that nowhere in the world today is the lot of the individual happier or safer than in those countries which make up the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The silver jubilee followed the precedents and traditions for celebrating jubilees that had been established in the previous century, though the proceedings lasted longer, and there were no less than four official and two unofficial royal drives through London. Hecatombs of oxen were roasted around the country in the traditional jubilee holocaust of meat burnt on the outside and raw inside. The weather was glorious: King's weather, as it had been called Queen's weather for Victoria.

On Monday King and Queen drove to the thanksgiving service at St Paul's. The man from *The Times*, making the point that he had been up early for the notice of this news, reported in *Buckingham Palace* was the centre of an Empire's waking thoughts. Many hours had gone by before the gates would open and the King and Queen pass on their way, but down, when it broke, found ardent citizens awaiting the Royal progress. Humble folk stood in clusters near the Palace railings. Every point of vantage within sight of the Palace was eagerly sought and quickly seized. The people waited. In these early hours of the morning they were an earnest throng, not without pride that their place in this central event of the Jubilee was so near to Buckingham Palace, surely at that time the very heart of the Empire. The King had ordered that Hyde Park was to remain open all night, and it became a vast dormitory for the crowds of trippers on day excursions from as far away as Aberdeen.

In those days, before colour television had made colour-writing a superfluous art form, *The Times* had stationed reporters outside Buckingham Palace, in Trafalgar Square, at Temple Bar, in Ludgate Circus, and at the steps of St Paul's, with others inside the cathedral, and one roving doing a general "true living crowd" piece. Each wrote about 2,000 words of stately colour-prose of the sort that does not allow itself to be hampered by facts and information, and got on with the poetic description of pigeons and little old ladies saying: "King George is the only King for whom I would come into a crowd like this."

For his part the King reported in his diary for Monday: "A never to be forgotten day when we celebrated our Silver Jubilee. It was a glorious summer's day: 75 degrees in the shade. The greatest number of people in the streets that I have ever seen in my life. The enthusiasm was indeed most touching."

Every night that week the King and

The reluctant monarch who relented

Only 78 years separated George III's jubilee from the next such occasion, Victoria's golden jubilee to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of her accession. But those 78 years had swollen Great Britain's power, place in the world, and self-importance beyond recognition. The industrial revolution had made Britain the workshop of the world; military victory and imperial expansion had made her the greatest power in the world, governing or controlling three quarters of the globe. This jubilee was no longer a domestic affair, with the principal excitement generated over whether there should be big dinners or relief of debtors, but an imperial triumph on a Roman scale.

Once again a letter to *The Times* stimulated the government and people into celebrating a jubilee. In 1885 Baron Bray of Leicester pointed out to the editor and his readers that on June 20, 1886, the Queen would be entering upon her fiftieth year. He proposed that plans should be made to celebrate this "year of jubilee". The proposal was taken up eagerly by everybody except the Queen herself, who dreaded an orgy of "hustle and bustle". She obstinately refused to dress up in crown and robes of State. In spite of the protests of the politicians and her family. As a last resort the Princess of Wales, her favourite daughter-in-law, was sent in to make her change her mind, and came out in a hurry: "I was never so snubbed," Lord Rosebery observed in his sarcastic way that the empire should be ruled by a sceptre, not a bonnet. Nevertheless, it was in a bonnet that Victoria drove to Westminster Abbey for the thanksgiving service, and the printed instructions directed "Ladies in Bonnets and Long High Dresses without Mantle".

The procession there included 32 princes of the Queen's own blood. The Queen agreed with the general impression that the most splendid was dear Fritz, the Crown Prince of Germany, a Lohengrin with a golden beard clothed in white and silver cuirassier's uniform and with a German eagle on his helmet. *The Times* went to town with floral borders, and twenty columns devoted to reporting the carriage processions alone: "Her white bonnet, a tribute to the exultant joy of her subjects, was regarded as a sign of especial goodwill, and she began her magnificent progress in the midst of a burst of loyal cheer which became the continuous accompaniment of her route through the principal streets of the capital to the venerable Abbey which is the historic scene of royal ceremonies."

The Times leaders too did something more than justice to the occasion. On June 21 we published an editorial of jubilee news no less than 12 columns long. But tucked away in the pages of celebration and retrospective, serious political points were also made. For example, *The Times* adverted delicately to its long-standing opinion, which so infuriated the Queen, that she should emerge a little from her self-indulgent solitude of widowhood, and give the people a bit of gift for their monarchy:

In her hours of darkest sorrow the Queen has never neglected her obligations to her Crown. The sole omission which her subjects have ever regretted has been her repudiation for herself of the pleasures and pastimes of existence. They have longed to see her sharing once more with them the lights, as she always has been ready to sympathise with the shadows of life.

As usual for this second jubilee the bonfires and beacon, the ox-roasting and feasting, begged description; though that did not inhibit the mendacity of the newspaper scribes from trying to describe them in detail. In fact the most original idea for the jubilee came from the Prince of Wales, who suggested that "no more suitable memorial could be suggested than an Institute that should represent the Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce of the Queen's Colonies and Indian Empire".



OBSTINATELY REFUSED TO DRESS UP

The Imperial Institute became the focal point of the jubilation of Great Britain and the Empire. Other jubilee parades, park-like, formally failed to get off the ground. At Paddington Town, 440 feet high, was planned for Oxford Street, but it did not get beyond a contractor and managing director. On the night of Jubilee Day Victoria wrote with characteristic sadness: "I sat alone (oh! without my beloved husband, for whom this would have been such a proud day!)."

Ten years later the Queen was still on the throne, and her people and Government had developed a taste for jubilees. So she was put through it all again. People started talking about the diamond jubilee, by analogy from golden and then diamond wedding anniversaries. On New Year's Day 1897 *The Times* gave the new phrase its impetus in a leader: Whatever fortune the year may bring to the British Empire, it will remain ever memorable in our annals as that of the solemn celebration of the "Diamond Jubilee" of Queen Victoria if, as we trust, HER MAJESTY is spared to us.

A lady in Cheshire wrote to the editor: The marks of the community are due to you for the solution to a question which has been troubling the minds of all loyal subjects, i.e. the choice of a short, apt, and descriptive title for the coming second jubilee of Her Majesty the Queen. It was absolutely necessary to make a clear distinction between the two historical celebrations destined to be talked of and written about for many generations to come; and doubtless henceforth 1897 will be known as the Queen's Golden, and 1897 as the Queen's Diamond Jubilee year. How right she was!

The Home Secretary thought that Diamond Jubilee was too common a phrase, and suggested that the Queen would prefer the "Queen's Commemoration", the "Queen's Year" or even "the Jubillissime". Victoria's Private Secretary Sir Arthur Balfour replied that he doubted whether the last suggestion would catch on. In any case, he said that the Queen already "fancied" the popular name.

In spite of its imperial overtones, the golden jubilee had been in some respects a family occasion of thanksgiving for the Queen as person. The diamond jubilee was more political and more commercial. It was actually called "the Jubilee of Empire", and politicians made capital out of the celebrations and took credit for the achievements of the past 60 years. So did the commercial firms. *The Times* published, in addition to a full page picture of the venerable monarch, several full page advertisements, such as the one for Peter Soap, which declared with some complacency that it would be its own Koh-Noor Diamond. (Double Diamond or 120 years) Jubilee in 1905. The Queen restricted official celebrations on the great day itself to a procession through London, pausing at the steps of St Paul's for the briefest of services.

The Times felt no such restrictions. On the Monday it published one of its jubilee special leaders: The Thanksgiving Service of yesterday formed a fitting prelude to the great

but scarcely a home along the route or adjacent to it had been content to resign its responsibilities to its elected representatives.

Peasants and little street communities had been busy with sewing-machines, paint brush, and ladder to express their own feelings and make their own show. Some of these streets set at right angles to the route were more freely strewn with flags and bunting and decorated portraits than the wider thoroughfares could be. Great blocks of flats had most of their windows framed in patriotic colours and had plaques of the King and Queen fixed on the most prominent and apparently inaccessible parts of their tall fronts.

The King was as pleased with his subjects as they were with him. Sister Catherine Black wrote: His pleasure at the wonderful evidence of the people's love and regard during the jubilee was touching. I can remember him coming back from a drive through the East End, very bright and radiantly happy. "I'd never seen them feel like that about me," he said with his usual frankness. "I am beginning to think they must really like me for myself."

The jubilee demonstrated that the King was just as much King in Whitechapel as in Whitehall, and the crowds cheered the decent British virtues that their monarch had come to exemplify and symbolise for them.

And then six pigeons were released at Murrayfield by the Duchess of York to bear greetings to Buckingham Palace from 17,000 Scottish children. As a jubilee gesture the Postmaster General reduced the cost of telegrams for the first time since the war to a new rate of 6d for nine words. There was a half-holiday at Maida Vale prison. And the thousands of other local events, gay and stately and dory, that make up a British royal jubilee, were moved by his tumultuous receptions and the profusion of decorations, as he noted in his delightfully plain diary, all put up by the poor.

The Times, of course, reported these drives in detail; for example, a brief extract from two and a half columns on the drive to Camberwell through Southwark and the Walworth Road: The lavishness of the preparations and the unaffected heartiness of the reception of the King and Queen: the people were typical of districts which are traditionally untouched by suburban self-consciousness. Borough councils might line the streets with decorative standards and festoon them with factory-made streamers,

and elsewhere sceptre and crown tumbled down, or have been politely bowed into the background. Here the monarchy is more than ever before the summit of the Constitution and the core of the Empire. And today, at those moments when the funda-



PATERNAL DARK CHOCOLATE VOICE

Description and pictures of the procession alone filled four pages. In addition there were several other pages dealing with the service at St Paul's, the King's wireless broadcast, celebrations at the round Empire's imagined corners, the illuminations, the fireworks, including set pieces of the King and Queen of a size never attempted before by a pyrotechnician, the parties in restaurants, the celebrations around the rest of the kingdom, the beacons lit at a signal from a pyre in Hyde Park ignited electrically from the Palace by His Majesty's own finger on the button, and the fulsome telegram from Herr Hitler. *The Times* ran two long and stately leaders about the jubilee on Monday. Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, before declining to a leader a day. *The Times* of that week in May gives the impression that it had procured a gross of golden eagle's quills for pens, and really was using Vesuvius for an inkwell.

For his part the King reported in his diary for Monday: A never to be forgotten day when we celebrated our Silver Jubilee. It was a glorious summer's day: 75 degrees in the shade. The greatest number of people in the streets that I have ever seen in my life. The enthusiasm was indeed most touching. Every night that week the King and

A King seen as father of his people

In the week beginning May 6, 1935, Victoria's grandson celebrated the first silver jubilee in British history. Victoria's two jubilees had been celebrations of the high tide of Empire, and gloriosus thanksgivings for the marchion of the nation. George V's jubilee came as a brief interval in the music of time between world wars, economic depression, and fundamental social upheaval.

There were doubts and criticism of the decision to hold a jubilee, both because of the extravagance at a time of national impoverishment, and also because of the supposed political effect so near to a general election. It was felt that it would benefit the Conservatives by making the voters content with the status quo. In fact, contrary to some predictions, the silver jubilee was an immense popular success. *The Times* pointed out that the most patriotic feeling had been shown in the worst slums; and a banner saying "Lousy but Loyal" was widely quoted. All witnesses agreed that there was a remarkable and spontaneous outburst of popular affection for the modest, decent father figure, who had not fully recovered from his illness, and who had made himself a model of constitutional rectitude, and wanted social justice more than most of the ruling class.

Another factor in the phenomenon of May, 1935, was the King's broadcasts by the new fangled wireless. The intimate and paternal dark chocolate voice coming out of a box in the living rooms of the nation had transformed the distant hierophant into a father of his people. A letter in *The Times* on Jubilee Day itself captured the prevalent feeling of temporary port after stormy seas:

During their (King George and Queen Mary's) reign we have come through the appalling stress and tragedy of the War years and those disruptive post-War times in which we have seen Monarchs and institutions destroyed and personal liberty

VER JUBILEE

BC has a potential television audience about 500 million

Colin Craxton, of the BBC's coverage of Churchill's funeral, four coronations and the investiture of the Prince of Wales, said the corporation's one-man department had had a week such as this to understand why.

Executive producer, Mr Craxton, in charge of today's live television of the Silver Jubilee, said for an estimated 500 million viewers in Britain, a potential audience of 500 million, viewers in the world, independent television or live outside broadcast, was affected by an dispute involving production assistants, more attend in ever will be forced BBC coverage. Today is up to St Paul's, the service, thanksgiving, the walk, the speech to the Queen and the return to Buckingham Palace.

Monday the operation will be huge, covering the of the Queen on the and in the evening the grand and firework display Saturday the jubilee. The Colour will be

age of the events on the days will require 81, with 38 alone needed for today's events. The also involved in making arrangements for Commonwealth broadcasting organizations American networks many European and television stations to coverage live or for recorded and shown.

Germany, Holland, Belgium, Hong Kong, Japan, Australia, New Canada and America among the countries that give BBC coverage.

Craxton said yesterday: "BBC has been planning

this for a year and I started planning 18 months ago. It is difficult in rehearsal because the participants cannot come to rehearsals. So many things can go wrong but so far all we have had is a little bit of technical trouble. After Thursday I hope to have a few days rest but first I shall have to write hundreds of letters thanking all the people who have helped."

Mr Craxton had some sympathy for the people at ITN whose months of planning has been affected by the industrial dispute. Independent television coverage will now be restricted mainly to news bulletins.

He particularly praised the BBC engineers involved in the service, and said: "It is a tremendous organization to work with and there is no doubt they are the best technicians in the world." Mr Tom Thorne will be the BBC commentator today and will have to speak on and off for nearly five hours. He will operate from a special soundproof room in the west gallery of St Paul's while Mr Craxton will be stationed in a mobile control van near the cathedral. When live coverage is over the two men will go straight to BBC Television Centre to plan an edited version to be shown later on BBC1.

For BBC Radio the situation has also been described as the most complex it has ever undertaken to coverage will include Mrs Margaret Thatcher's speech from Canada, Australia and New Zealand and coverage will continue for five hours. It will also bring in outside broadcasts from all over Britain, including a contribution from Shetland Isles.

The chimes service will be transmitted by satellite from Canada in stereo, the first time that has been done. The Queen's speech at Guildhall will be transmitted throughout the Commonwealth and British listeners can hear the thanksgiving service in quadraphonic sound.

Windsor copes with double celebration

By Tony Symon

of the most patient in Windsor yesterday. Par Mist, stationed the counter, alone in the tourist information

nd two other stallholders, the desk for two hours, from 10 am and a £10 extra payment of £50, their usual £10 an

rman with a team to his back waited the town's jubilee bus and got to St. As soon as possible Mrs Mist said the best bus for him and then dealt with two who complicated about train tickets, and visitors with car parking fees.

telephone was ringing continuously. She told one caller that been probably at a hotel only once every would probably be making the journey

of the inquiries were about the Queen was in Windsor Park, the a chain of about a thousand the country's first official event of jubilee week. area is very busy tourist season, but usually consists of accommodation where to stay. We have a week-end, we have a week-end completely to let her unfortunately not been given a great information from the " Mrs. Mist said. s a jubilee box office, ran near the Great I am referring some them". visitors had gone to for a day out, not knowing what was going here. "We came the Queen is here", of a coach party from said. "We are amazed we are not more flags the streets. At home, none left in the shops really gone mad, just bought flags here each". Another in the corner was 20p for the same flag for a larger one.

They were spending yesterday in Windsor, not only to join the celebrations, but also to get away from the horrors of the hotel to which they were to return reluctantly last night. "We shall stay here as long as possible because we can't find a lovely room and we do not want to spend much time in another", Mrs. Mist said. "As soon as possible we shall hire a car and go to Scotland."

Being a tourist is not all fun, as Mr. Victor Wall and his wife Harriet, from Illinois, told me. They had been booked into an hotel in Willesden by a London agency for three nights' bed and breakfast at £3.50 each. When they arrived the owner told them they could have the room only if they stayed a week, and breakfast was not available. After an argument, they got their room for the three nights but found that the hotel had no heating or hot water and there were only blankets on the beds.

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Army and RAF garrisons have organized street parties like those in Britain. Troops will hold the usual Queen's Birthday parades and special ceremonies of Beating Retreat. British organizations and Anglo-German associations will hold balls, dinners, garden parties, film shows, plays, receptions and excursions. Cricket matches, church services, picnics, darts competitions and "British weeks" have been arranged.

Four Royal Navy vessels will pay an official visit and be open to the public in Hamburg, Hong Kong's part. Hong Kong will send a jubilee company to London for performances on July 26 by a Chinese choir, student dancers and a traditional Chinese orchestra (Richard Hughes reports from Hong Kong). In Hong Kong there will be a six-night pageant at the government stadium from November 20 to 25, with Chinese and Western music and drama.

Chapel officials of the NGA said the management's offer for jubilee holiday payments was agreed with the union's national officials without consulting the chapel.



Celebrating in style: a youngster in clown's garb gets to grips with a fancy cake at a street party in Primrose Gardens, Camden, London.



All set for a wet night outside the Palace.



A resident in Churston Gardens, Haringey, London, looks out from her decorated window.



Children in Tradescant Road, Lambeth, London, enjoying the entertainment provided by a magician at their street party.

Street parties and parades in West Germany

From John Young
Brighton

The most spectacular jubilee event in West Germany comes on July 7, when more than five thousand British troops from the Army of the Rhine will parade past the Queen at Sennelager.

But the British community in West Germany has ensured officially and unofficially, that the celebration will not go unremarked in any important centre.

Army and RAF garrisons have organized street parties like those in Britain. Troops will hold the usual Queen's Birthday parades and special ceremonies of Beating Retreat.

British organizations and Anglo-German associations will hold balls, dinners, garden parties, film shows, plays, receptions and excursions.

Cricket matches, church services, picnics, darts competitions and "British weeks" have been arranged.

Four Royal Navy vessels will pay an official visit and be open to the public in Hamburg, Hong Kong's part. Hong Kong will send a jubilee company to London for performances on July 26 by a Chinese choir, student dancers and a traditional Chinese orchestra (Richard Hughes reports from Hong Kong).

In Hong Kong there will be a six-night pageant at the government stadium from November 20 to 25, with Chinese and Western music and drama.

No day for seaside jubilation

From John Young
Brighton

Yesterday was not of day to be at the seaside. The sun shone and there was a strong, squally wind and if the holidaymakers felt any jubilee cheer it did not show on their faces.

It was a sad contrast with the photographs of the sun-drenched crowds of 42 years ago, when a judge from contemporary reports in *The Times*, half the population appeared to take themselves off to the coast.

In Portsmouth, in 1935, more than 20,000 people attended a service of thanksgiving outside Chichester harbour, but

the Guildhall, and were afterwards entertained by a searchlight display by the Home Fleet.

Yesterday the new Guildhall precinct was all but deserted.

Admittedly it was not July Day, but the beat that today's

weather seems to offer is an evening of pop music.

Neighbouring Southsea was

lively, with hundreds of cars parked along the front. The funfair was doing good business but the wind was whipping white tops off a grey, heaving sea and driving rain across the faces of the few promenaders.

Eastward, a few bare sailboats dotted Chichester harbour, but

the yachting fraternity were mostly fiddling with their boats ashore or standing round in disconsolate groups.

Farther along the coast, Bognor, Littlehampton, Worthing and Shoreham presented the same bleak picture.

Apart from a few yachts dressed overall, flags of civilization were less conspicuous than those warning the foot-hardy that swimming was prohibited.

Even Brighton seemed strangely out of sorts, the white and gold Regency terraces showing scarcely a single splash of colour.

Weather the enemy but celebrations go ahead

Continued from page 1

In North Wales, was fired 24 hours ahead of schedule by people who said they were part of an anti-jubilee movement.

Manchester was apparently taking the celebrations less enthusiastically than some areas. On a grim day, with no official decorations, only a few damp Union Jacks could be seen in the city centre, but there will be more celebrations when the Queen visits the city later this month.

At Ruskin College, Oxford, red flags are being flown on the college building to celebrate not the jubilee but the sixth anniversary of the Russian Revolution. Students admitted admiring the enemy.

In Northern Ireland, people in towns and villages were worried by worsening weather but determined to celebrate in style. In Belfast it is hoped that street parties, for at least one day, will remove the memory of violence.

Some of the worst weather was reported from Scotland. But many celebrations went ahead as planned and more will follow today.

In Birmingham, attempts will be made after the celebrations to keep alive the community spirit that has sprung up in the preparations.

Liverpool, like Manchester, is saving most of its activity for a visit by the Queen later this month, although hundreds of

A loyal toast from the sons of England

From Nicholas Ashford
Pretoria, June 6

Loyalist members of the Victoria Cross Lodge of the Sons of England Patriotic and Benevolent Society in South Africa marked the Queen's jubilee with a banquet in Pretoria on Saturday night.

As an occasion for celebration it may not have quite matched the centenary of three quarters of a century ago for Queen Victoria's golden jubilee, when Britain's imperial presence in South Africa was at its height.

However, Saturday night's banquet showed that there are still Englishmen good and true within these shores. There was a six-night pageant at the government stadium from November 20 to 25, with

Beef-and-West Yorkshire pudding, loyal masts were drunk and the

evening ended with spirited renderings of patriotic songs led by Mr Alec Parker, originally from Woolwich.

The dining room was festooned with Union Jacks and cardboard models of London policemen and post boxes. The tables were decorated with bouquets of red poinsettias, white chrysanthemums and blue ribbons.

There was even a rather crumpled beefeater to greet arriving guests, although it transpired that he had been more than a mile from the Tower of London when he was born.

However, there could be no doubt that Colonel David Polley, military attaché at the British Embassy in Pretoria, who replied to the loyal toast,

was a genuine British article.

Resplendent in scarlet mess dress with medals glittering, he delighted the 140 guests with a racy account of what a day in the life of our Sovereign might be like.

It would have been an evening of which even the most loyal of the Queen's subjects would have been proud had not one gentleman stood up and called for three cheers for Mr Ian Smith, well known in these parts for his rebellion against the Crown. The response was thunderous and almost unanimous, except of course from Colonels Polley and the other members of the British Embassy present. They sat

good humoured but silent.

The 1987 jubilee, page 10

Leading article, page 11

Another photograph, page 12

The palaces Prince Philip calls 'the museums'

The Duke of Edinburgh, who has cultivated a talent or a foible for bluff naivety, once said: "We live in what virtually amounts to a museum which does not happen to a lot of people." As we celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Queen's accession, it is instructive to consider the extraordinary buildings that make the Duke feel like a specimen (*Homo regalis*) in a museum. Our royal palaces and residences are some of the most historic buildings in Britain. Many are architectural glories; some are architectural jokes in bad taste.

The Queen has two principal official palaces in England, Buckingham Palace and Windsor Castle; and one in Scotland, Holyroodhouse, the haunting and allegedly haunted palace of the Stuarts by Edinburgh. These great state buildings, among the most popular tourist attractions in the world, are the ones that make Prince Philip feel he is living in a display cabinet.

In addition the Queen owns two principal private houses, which look to commoners like palaces or, if you prefer, museums: Balmoral Castle in Scotland and Sandringham House near King's Lynn. The Queen also owns, but does not herself use, a number of smaller houses on her estates: for example Thatched House Lodge, Richmond, which she lends to the Ogilvies.

In addition there are a number of royal palaces that are now used for other purposes. The Palace of Westminster is now a museum for politicians, and recently, except for a small area reserved for the Queen at the State Opening, ceased to be a royal palace at all. Hampton Court really is a museum, as well as providing Grace and Favour flats for meritorious public servants and their widows and families. Kensington Palace is the home of Princess Margaret and other members of the royal family and household, while William and Mary's state apartments, recently handsomely refurbished by the Queen and the Department of the Environment, are open to the public.

The Tower of London is the most visited museum in the kingdom. The Banqueting House, Whitehall, with its glorious Rubens ceiling, is the least visited and most underemployed public building in the kingdom. St James's Palace, the love-nest that Henry VIII built for Anne Boleyn, is the residence of the Duke of Kent and the offices of the Lord Chamberlain and other departments of the monarchy business.

All of these, except Westminster, are still royal palaces. The Queen, for example, in theory could take up residence again in the White Tower, and every day enjoy the masterpiece of Norman ecclesiastical architecture, the Chapel Royal of St John on the second and third floors. All her ancestors until Charles II spent at least one night, the eve of their coronations, there. Several spent much of their lives and met their deaths there. In practice the Tower has too many dark memories of decapitated and imprisoned royalties and too big an attraction for the tourists for it ever to become a royal residence again.

Because of its central position and size, Buckingham Palace has been the monarchy's head office and working palace for the past 150 years. But by a crazy paradox enjoyed by ancient English institutions, St James's is for some purposes still the official palace: for instance, foreign ambassadors are still formally accredited to the Court of St James, although it has been bounded as a royal residence since Victoria came to the throne. Buckingham Palace takes its name from a Jacobite politician and minor poet of the seventeenth century, who built himself the finest private palace in London on the site. George III bought it as a private domestic retreat, away from the pomp of St James's, for Queen Caroline in the countryside that has since become Green Park.

There is a curious regular pattern in the evolution of royal palaces. A private palace is built as a retreat from the official palace. In time it becomes the official palace, and another private palace is built, which later still replaces it as the official palace. This happened to Whitehall, St James's, Hampton Court, Kensington and Buckingham Palace.

John Nash rebuilt Buckingham Palace at prodigious expense for George IV, that great builder-king. Nash's building formed three sides of a square, with the eastern fourth side nearest to the Mall left open. The main entrance was through the Marble Arch, a memorial to the victories of Trafalgar and Waterloo. Victoria surprisingly found the large palace too small for her admittedly large family. So the Marble Arch was removed to its present position as traffic roundabout and symbol for a station on the Underground. And a fourth, slab-faced wing, which is the only face of the palace that is fully visible to the public, was built to complete the square. It is grandiose, ugly in its own right, and obscures Nash's far finer building.

To see Nash's wings, you either have to peer from the top of a bus going up Constitution Hill, or get yourself invited to one of the Queen's garden parties. She holds three of them in June and July, to each of which about 8,000 people are invited. Invitations are given either directly by the Palace, or on the recommendation of public officials and invitations. It is rumoured, let us hope without truth, that rascally scalpers offer invitations for sale at exorbitant prices to tourists. If you do get in, do not miss the most luxurious 12-seater mobile lavatory in the world, with hot and cold running water and running flunkies, discreetly hidden behind the rhododendrons. And do not steal the crockery as a souvenir, as many do. It is not the Queen's tea cup, but Joe Lyon's. When she is in London, the Queen spends weekdays at Buckingham Palace.

She spends most weekends, and a month in the summer for Ascot, at Windsor Castle, her country home, and in recent years has been spending more time at Windsor than formerly. Unlike her town palace, Windsor Castle looks like a royal palace out of the romances ought to look, by Malory out of Arthur Rackham. But do not be misled by ye distant spires, ye antique towers and that great round tower looming over the Thames. Most of them were put there by Wyatt for George IV in another of George's spectacular fits of architectural megalomania. Presumably Wyatt put in the portcullis and Hollywood machicolations and berlements so that the king could pour boiling oil down on parliamentary critics. Willing Hamiltoning on about his extravagance. In George's days they were numerous.

Wyatt asked George for permission to change his name to Wyatville, which seemed to him less common for the royal architect. George replied engagingly: "Vaal au maton, call yourself what you like."

Philip Howard

Although the facade of Windsor is slightly bogus, it is a splendid palace, and much of it is genuinely old. William the Conqueror built the central mound and the first wooden Round Tower as part of a ring of fortresses that encircled London and dominated his reluctant new kingdom. His descendants, notably Henry II and III, turned it to stone, and added the surrounding walls, wards, and towers. Edward IV built St George's Chapel, the supreme masterpiece of English Perpendicular, which has become a central shrine of the monarchy, and so of the idea of English nationhood.

Windsor does not show its age of 900 sometimes turbulent sometimes forgotten years, partly because of Wyatt's nineteenth century Gothic Revival, and partly because it is built of a grey crystalline silicate stone that is washed as clean as new by every shower. Its red letter day is the Garter Service in June, when the Queen and her family and Knights of the Garter walk in procession to St George's. The Order was founded by Edward III as a brotherhood of men dedicated to Arthurian chivalry, jousting, feasting, and what men call gallantry and gods adultery. The elderly retired public figures who have taken the place of the young braves look as if they are past all those activities, incongruous but quaint in flowing mantles and hats with ostrich plumes. The lower ward and state apartments are open to the public for most of the year. There are fine walks and splendid vistas in the Great Park, past the Queen's magnificently run home farm, and down the Long Mile to the Copper Horse (a gigantic equestrian statue of George III, who loved Windsor and acquired his nickname of Farmer George for his diligence on his estates there).

The Queen spends up to six weeks in the late summer at Balmoral Castle on the upper Dee. In strict constitutional doctrine the monarch cannot take a holiday. The red boxes, the Privy Councillors, and the other formal duties of the head of state accompany her everywhere she goes. But Balmoral is as near as she gets to a holiday. For this reason it is a favorite home of the Queen, as it was of her great-great-grandmother.

The Queen has her Scottish home at Balmoral by pure accident, for no better reason than that the summer of 1847 was foul. Victoria and Albert, already in love with the Highlands, which reminded them rather oddly of Albert's native Thuringia, suffered from torrential storms, sea sickness, and midges on a house-hunting cruise up the west coast of Scotland. On the advice of their doctor, a fresh-air fiend, they settled on the east coast, which is more bracing, less picturesque. They bought Balmoral Estate.

In 1852 an eccentric miser called Nield left Victoria a quarter of a million pounds in his will. She deduced in her diary that he had done so because he knew she would not waste the money. She used some of it to build the present Balmoral Castle in the Neo-Baronial Scots-wha-hae style, multi-turreted, with the hint of archers behind the battlements and clamen men with claymores in the shrubbery. Albert, naturally, had a considerable hand in the architecture and interior decoration, which suffers from a bilious epidemic of tartanitis.

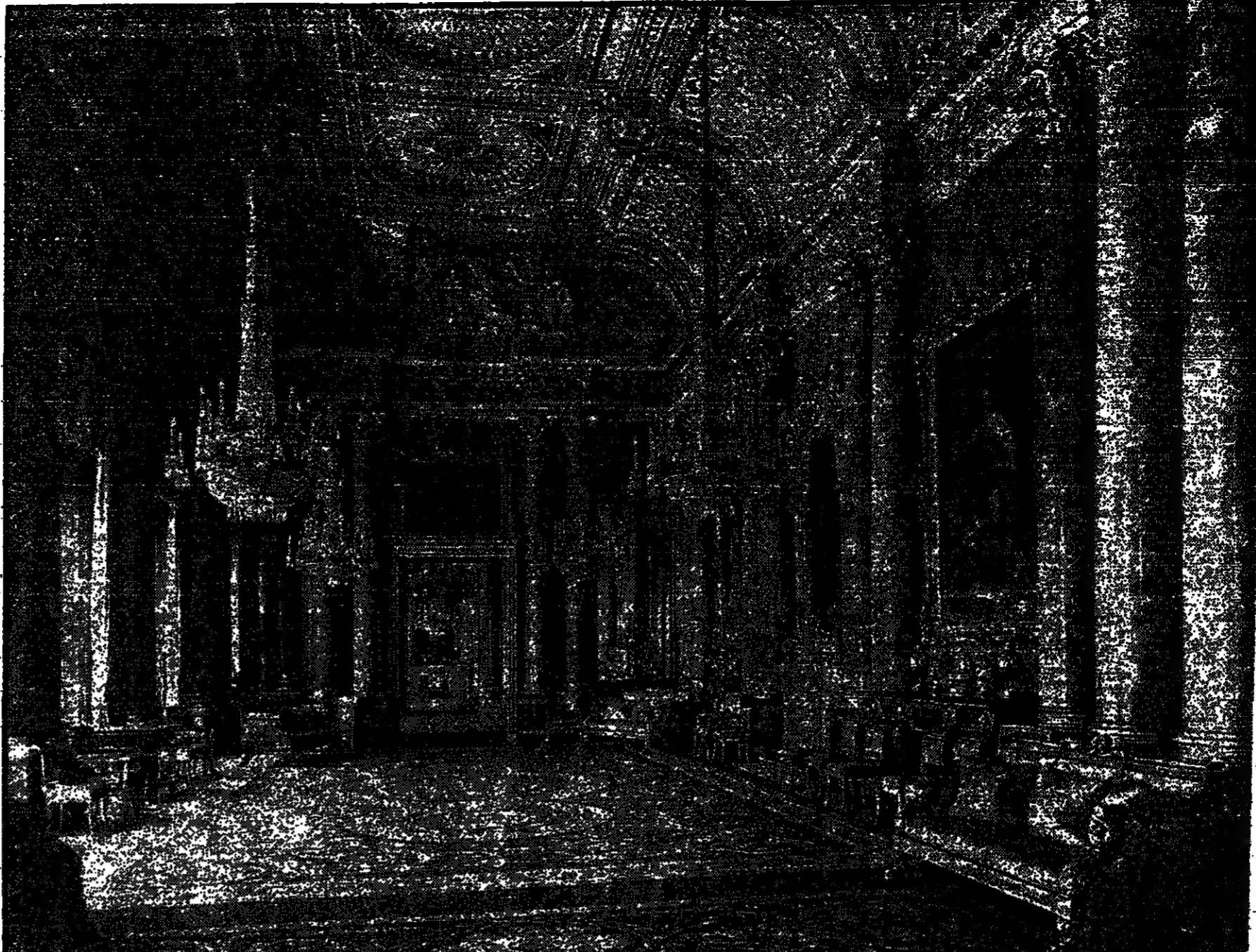
The widowed queen was responsible for the lugubrious atmosphere of Balmoral, which came to be known as Balmorality for its dullness and primness. Her love for her Highland home, though not the stuffiness of her later years there, appear to have been inherited by her subsequent descendants. You cannot visit Balmoral unless you are a house guest of the Queen, a Privy Councillor on business, or a member of a Scottish regiment acting as royal guard and beaters of grouse for the guns.

Just before he died Albert used Prince of Wales's income from the Duchy of Cornwall to buy his eldest son Sandringham House in Norfolk. It was rebuilt a solid, unpretentious, red-brick mansion in a style that became known as 1870 Tudor. It became Edward's favourite country house, famous for its shooting, its gaudy nights, and its brilliant and sometimes slightly flesh house parties.

Edward VIII disliked Sandringham, which he described as the stronghold where his father had waged his battles with the Germaneth Germans. By contrast George VI liked playing the country squire and was a passionate and dead-eyed shot of anything wearing feather or fur that moved and could legally and sportingly be shot at. Under him the tradition grew up that the royal family spent the Christmas holidays at Sandringham. This tradition has recently been modified. Christmas Day now tends to be spent at Windsor, and the Queen then goes to Sandringham for New Year. The house needs to be extensively repaired and modernized, having been built for the days of an Edwardian household above and below stairs. But the economic depression and royal sensitivity to accusations of extravagance have postponed the work, and may have caused it to be abandoned. Parts of the house have just been opened to the public in the summer.

When in Scotland, the Queen understandably prefers to get away from it all to Balmoral. But her official palace as Queen of Scotland is Holyroodhouse, the sinister old pile where Rizzio and others met bloody ends. Charles II built most of the palace as it exists today, erecting a twin tower to balance the original medieval twin tower, and linking them with three sides of a square of Palladian wings, rising to a classical climax of Doric, Ionic and Corinthian pilasters. The Queen stays at Holyrood for about a week a year in the summer, and holds her Scottish garden party while she is there. Visiting heads of state have recently started using it as their historic but not very comfortable hotel while they see Scotland.

It can therefore be concluded that the Queen has no shortage of houses to lay her head in. However, she has far fewer than all but her immediate predecessors. Palace-building and fashion-setting used to be royal functions. And the medieval monarchs and the Tudors and Stuarts had castles spread over the land for strategic and economic reasons: to hold the kingdom and to eat up the feudal rents, which were mostly paid in kind, by travelling from castle to castle on perpetual chevauchées. The monarch's function today has evolved to be symbol of national unity and figurehead of the constitutional machine. So, as the Duke of Edinburgh correctly observed, most of the palaces have become national museums as well as private houses.



BUCKINGHAM PALACE—THE HEAD OFFICE



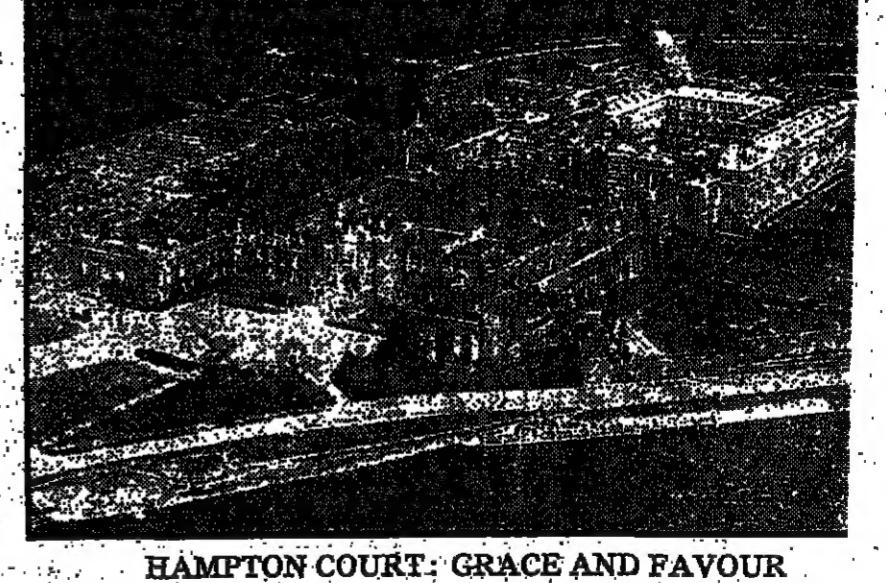
WINDSOR CASTLE: SPLENDID, GENUINE.



BALMORAL: THE QUEEN'S FAVOURITE.



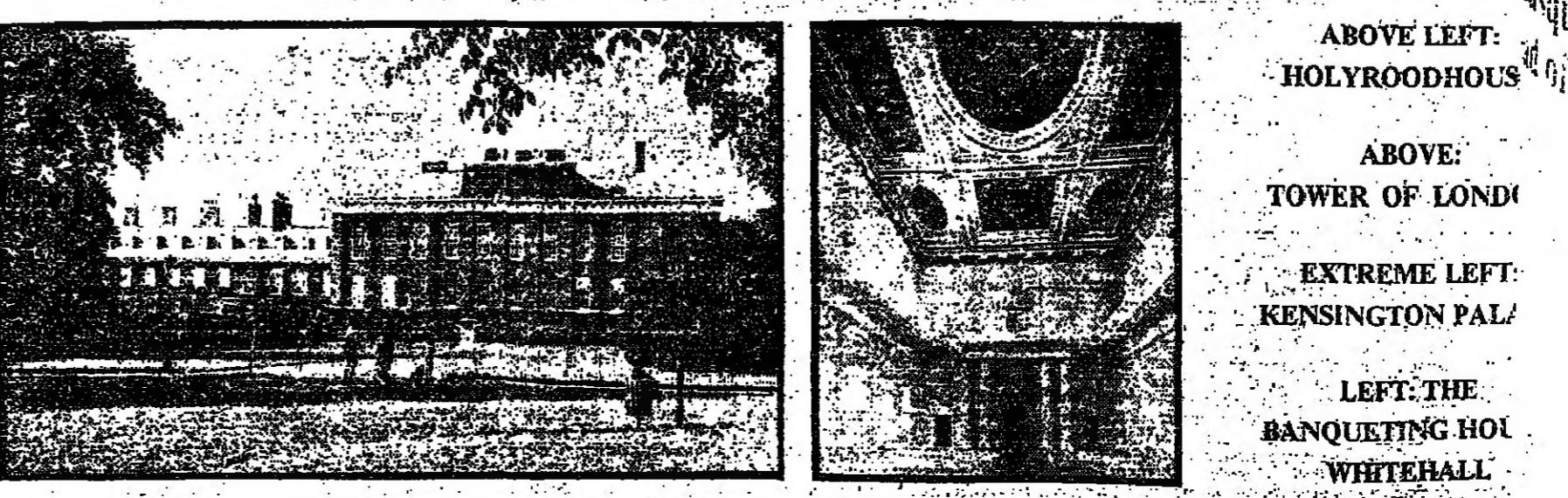
SANDRINGHAM: PUTTING CLOCKS ON.



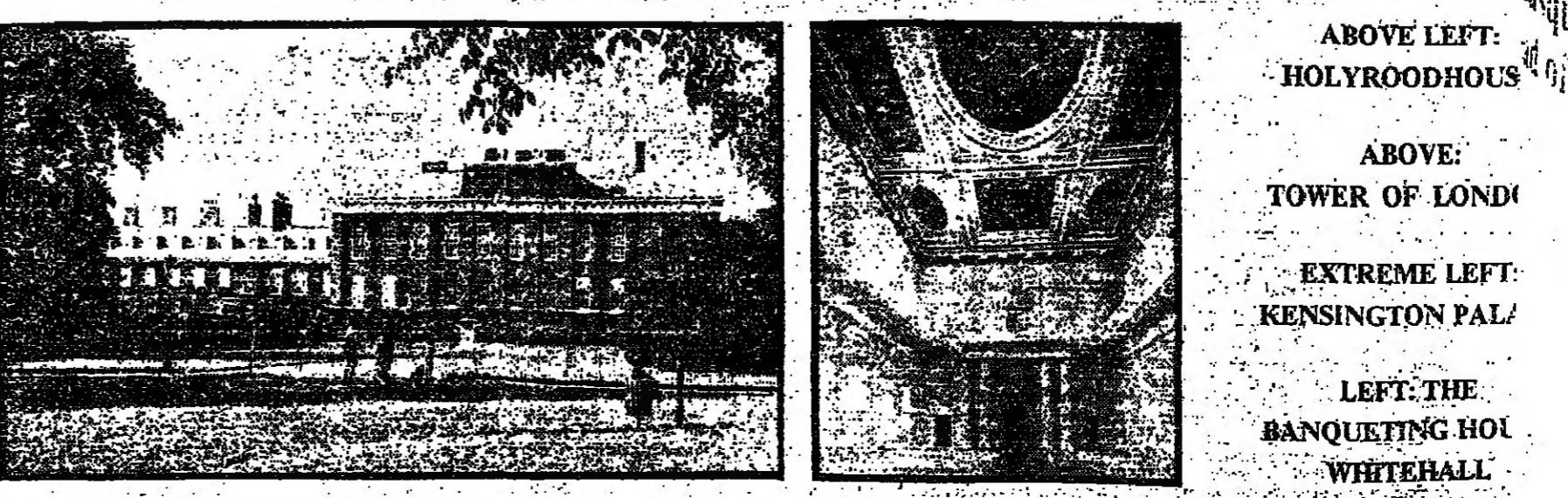
HAMPTON COURT: GRACE AND FAVOUR



ABOVE LEFT:
HOLYROODHOUS



ABOVE:
TOWER OF LOND



EXTREME LEFT:
KENSINGTON PAL
LEFT: THE
BANQUETING HOU
WHITEHALL

WEST EUROPE

Editor of 'Le Figaro' steps down after dispute with proprietorFrom Charles Hargrove
Paris, June 6

France's leading conservative newspaper, *Le Figaro*, is going through one of the most severe crises in its long history. M. Jean d'Ormesson, the Editor-in-Chief, resigned today. His resignation followed that of M. Raymond Aron, the well-known sociologist and the paper's political director, last week in protest against what he called the authoritarian methods of the chief proprietor, M. Robert Hervant.

Both men explained their reasons for resigning today. M. Aron in an interview with the weekly news magazine *Le Point*, and M. d'Ormesson, in a leading article in today's issue of the newspaper. Both emphasized they were leaving not out of political disagreement with M. Hervant who became a controlling shareholder in *Le Figaro* in June, 1975, but because of differences of opinion about the exercise of authority in the newspaper. M. Hervant will reply in M. d'Ormesson in tomorrow's issue.

M. d'Ormesson was unanimously elected chairman of the board of control of *Le Figaro* in 1974. In 1975, after M. Hervant's takeover, he became Editor-in-Chief. In his leading article to Parliament (M. Hervant is deputy for the Oise), this amalgamation of different functions in the same person seems to me unacceptable in the France of today".

M. Aron said he was rather attracted by M. Hervant. "He struck me as a dynamic and enterprising man, with a certain character. Rightly or wrongly, I feel he had in him the stuff of an entrepreneur and, frankly, that was what the paper needed most."

But he criticized "the irrational question of the direct participation of the chief proprietor in the editing of the newspaper, in the form of editorials or articles". This, together with appointments to leading positions and dismissals over which he had no say, had led M. d'Ormesson to conclude that "the exclusive authority which

had been given him over the editorial side, ran the risk of being whisked away to the point where it became a mere fiction".

These considerations led him to the conclusion that he was no longer in a position effectively to run the paper.

M. Aron was more blunt. He said the point at issue was the unacceptable character of the amalgamation of M. Hervant's role as chief proprietor and as political director.

"That the owner of a group should exercise an influence on the newspapers which belong to him goes without saying. But that the same person should want to be chief proprietor, manager of a group, political director of the main newspaper in it, leader writer and a candidate for election to Parliament (M. Hervant is deputy for the Oise), this amalgamation of different functions in the same person seems to me unacceptable in the France of today".

M. Aron said he was rather attracted by M. Hervant. "He struck me as a dynamic and enterprising man, with a certain character. Rightly or wrongly, I feel he had in him the stuff of an entrepreneur and, frankly, that was what the paper needed most."

But as time went on, he observed that if M. Hervant had improved the finances of *Le Figaro*, he had not restored to the editorial staff either its confidence or its drive. It transpires clearly from both M. d'Ormesson's and M. Aron's statements that, with the coming parliamentary elections, M. Hervant was determined to play an increasingly active role in the political direction of the newspaper.

Why Rome nobility backs rebel prelateFrom Peter Nichols
Rome, June 6

Mgr Marcel Lefebvre, the traditionalist French prelate suspended a divinity by the Pope, said here tonight that his choice was made: "I do not", he said, "want to die Protestant".

He was addressing an invited audience of Roman nobility in the throne room of the Princess Pallavicini's palace and sat beneath the scarlet and gold arms of Pope Clement VII. Much of his hour-and-a-quarter speech was good-humoured but the essential point was clear enough.

He felt that the Roman Catholic Church had fundamentally changed in the past 20 years and he could not accept it. The definition of the Church had changed. There was now no mention of its visible hierarchical structure.

The Mass was no longer a sacrifice, there were now collective absolutions: "Soon", Mgr Lefebvre said, to his first loud round of applause, "we shall have collective Extreme Unction".

Changes had taken place in the Catholic religion, to please members of other religions. "I am not for plurality in religious matters", he said, to more applause.

Why have missions, he asked, if there was a pluralism of the truth? Why bother to have a Catholic sect when there were hundreds of other sects already in existence? The work of the Catholic mission had been destroyed. The Catholic Church, the only true faith because Christ had founded it. He died in our baptism not once more.

Mgr Lefebvre produced a list of what he regarded as scandals: there was a chapel put up for Muslim worship in one cathedral, and there

would have been one in Marseilles if the faithful had not stopped him. The archbishop there blessed engaged couples who said they were not yet ready to face marriage. Papal nuncios were pressing for the removal of constitutional articles granting a privileged position for the Catholic faith.

He recounted his private meeting with the Pope here last September. The Pope reproved him for talking too much. He said to the Pope: "I am not the head of the traditionalists as you have called me. I never wanted to form any group or association. My dream is to make good and holy priests.

"I am one of the traditionalists, or perhaps millions, who are saying 'Stop, stop the comedy, the modernization. Our Catholic religion will end if we go on like this. Leave things to tradition'.

The semi-comic posturings of the Rome nobility elicited by the presence of Mgr Lefebvre in the Eternal City, can in no way hide the real strength of the traditionalist movement.

The Roman nobility has old scores to settle with the Pope. When, as Mgr Montini, he was an official in the Vatican Secretariat of State, he was regarded by the nobility as a dangerous left-winger. It is, however, not very difficult to gain such a reputation here as many of the noble families remain anchored to political philosophies of the extreme right.

But the roots of his past clashes went deeper than his undoubtedly render social conscience which, to some extent, he managed to maintain, after his election to the papacy. The mysterious circumstances in which he was sent away from the Vatican in 1954, by Pope Pius XII were probably not unconnected with this dislike he felt even then for the Roman nobility.

5,000 Britons attend Dunkirk ceremony**Editors from 33 states attend Oslo assembly**

Oslo, June 6.—Mr Nordli, the Norwegian Prime Minister, opened the annual assembly of the International Press Institute (IPI) here today.

He reminded some 300 editors and publishers from 33 countries attending the assembly that freedom of the press represented "a significant part of our democracy". He spoke with regret about the scarcity of newspapers in parts of the Third World. —AP.

Last two Basques choose life instead of prison

San Sebastián, June 6.—Basque Government into voluntary exile. Basque prisoners politically motivated by violence.

Señor Ido de la Señor José María, both members of secessionist organization for Oslo, this Señor Ido de la convicted at a trial in 1970 of San Sebastián police who were sentenced to life imprisonment. Carmendia was also to death in a court a September, 1975, for involved in the fatal of a policeman. His was also condemned to prison. Two other Reuter.

Kidnappers threaten to kill Fiat executive

Paris, June 6.—A revolutionary group has threatened to execute on Saturday senior Fiat car company executive who was kidnapped here in April unless the Italian firm meets its demands, a Paris newspaper reported today.

Le Monde said that it had received the threat from the Committee for Revolutionary Socialist Unity (CUSR) saying that Signor Luciano Revelli-Beaumont, the head of Fiat in France, would be executed after midnight on Friday.

A communiqué, containing errors of grammar and spelling, did not give details of the demands, but said that they had been already presented.

Le Monde said that the communiqué was received this morning in an envelope postmarked in Paris and accompanied by a photograph of Signor Revelli-Beaumont.

He was seized on April 13 outside his Paris home by four armed men.

The communiqué published today said that a tribunal had condemned three other Fiat executives to death.

The death sentence on Signor Revelli-Beaumont "will be suspended only after acceptance by the company in an unconditional and non-negotiable manner of the demands which our organization communicated after the first verdict of our tribunal", it declared.

A group calling itself the Committee for the Defence of Italian Workers in France demanded \$1 million (\$250,000) for the executive's release. The demand was made shortly after his abduction. Six police did not believe that that claim was serious.

In today's photograph, Signor Revelli-Beaumont appeared clean-shaven and wearing collar and tie. Earlier pictures to Paris newspapers showed him with a grey beard and dressed in a white vest.

In Turin, a Fiat spokesman said that the company's top executives were under guard. He declined to comment on the death threat against Signor Revelli-Beaumont. —Reuter.



Mrs. Nelleke Ellenbroek-Prinsen (left) and Mrs. Annie Brouwer-Korf, released on Sunday from the Dutch train hijacked by South Moluccans, at a news conference in a Groningen hospital.

Portuguese Communists offer their solutionFrom José Sereia
Lisbon, June 6

The Portuguese Communist Party has offered its help in overcoming the economic crisis, which has hit all the main communist parties, the centre-left Social Democrats and the conservative Centre Democrats who have tried to draw him into alliance with them.

Dr Alvaro Cunhal, secretary general of the party, who is considered a hard-line Stalinist, said at the end of a weekend party conference: "The Portuguese Communist Party is ready to assume its responsibility and mobilize its entire energies to ensure economic cooperation, always with the workers, always with the people."

The Communists have been pressing the ruling Socialist

Party for some time for a share in government. Dr. Mário Soares, the Prime Minister, however, has resisted both items on the agenda.

The communists' proposal is a "platform" that will ensure economic recovery, consolidation of political liberties and of national independence".

Dr Cunhal said the economic and financial situation "was deteriorating because of the revival of capitalism. Dangerous political and social tension was being created".

Economic recovery was possible on the basis of nationalization, land reform, workers' control and of diversifying existing economic structures.

The restoration of "mono-

polar capitalism" must be prevented by the people. Dr. Soares has rejected both items on the agenda.

Dr Cunhal said the aims of his party's programme—reduction of imports, increase of exports, production of goods now imported, expansion of the home market and stimulation of the inflow of resources abroad.

The revival of capitalism was causing stagnation in national production, a "brutal" worsening of living conditions for the workers, deterioration of the trade balance and progressive exhaustion of the country's monetary reserves.

Meanwhile Dr. Soares made

two optimistic political pronouncements. Opening the national cattle and agricultural fair in Santarém in Ribatejo he

newed confidence.

Glassworker dies after shots fired at picketsFrom Our Own Correspondent
Paris, June 6

M. Pierre Maire, aged 31, one of the three workers from the Verrières-Mérimée glass firm at Rennes who were shot yesterday morning while taking part in a picket outside the plant, died of his injuries this morning.

Five men were in the car from which the shots were fired. One has given himself up to the police and the other four have been arrested. All are employees of the Céramique works in Rennes and members of the Confédération Française du Travail (CFT), a small, right-wing trade union organization which has never obtained national recognition.

Its main stronghold is in the motor industry and it is dominant in the Givors and Chrysler works, especially at Rennes. M. Christian Bérenger, the Minister of Labour, said in a statement on the shooting that the Government condemns in the strongest possible terms the actions of the CFT.

The CFT also condemned the dead and said that it was "fully identified with such irreconcilable action for which trade unionism was only an ally". It will take all necessary steps against its authors. It is confirmed that they are members of the CFT.

The fact that the men implicated in the shooting are all associated with the CFT, which is affiliated to the CP, which is a "reactionary" and is supported by other trade unions as a blocking organization with a disturbing record of violence, is bound to increase labour tension in plants like Givors.

Paris, June 6.—France's two biggest trade unions—the communist Confédération Générale du Travail and the left-wing Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail, have called on the nation to stop work for a symbolic five minutes tomorrow in memory of the dead man. —Reuters.

PETER STUYVESANT

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لهم اذ من لا يعلم

OVERSEAS



More representatives arrived in London yesterday for the Commonwealth conference which opens tomorrow. From left: Vice-President Moi of Kenya; Mr Gary, Grenada Prime Minister, an Mr Muldoon, New Zealand Prime Minister, greeted by Mrs Hart, Minister for Overseas Development; Mr Trudeau, Canadian Prime Minister; Mr Manley, Jamaican Prime Minister.

China turns state visit by Sudan leader into attack on Soviet strategy in Africa

Peking, June 6.—China today turned a state visit by President Nimeiry of Sudan into a fierce attack on Soviet strategy in Africa.

The President received a red carpet reception at Peking Airport, where he was met by an unusually large delegation headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng.

Cuban diplomats boycotted the arrival ceremony and Soviet and East European nations were represented by counsellors instead of ambassadors.

Ignoring the recent Russian protest about anti-Soviet propaganda, the People's Daily praised Sudan for smashing "Soviet subversive plots".

Peking made no secret of its jubilation over Sudan's expulsion of 90 Soviet military experts last month and its request for a reduction in the size of

the Soviet embassy in Khartoum. Relations between the Soviet Union and Sudan have been deteriorating since an abortive coup last July against President Nimeiry's Government.

Conspiracy allegation: Yesterday Tito accused Sudan and "imperialists and reactionaries" of plotting "a new aggression against Ethiopia, with which Moscow has been strengthening its ties recently."

"This is playing with fire, and a heavy responsibility before the peoples of Africa and the whole world rests on those who are still playing it," said.

Today's People's Daily leading article also praised Egypt for abandoning its alliance and cooperation treaty with Moscow and Zaire for scoring an "all-round victory in counter-attacking the Soviet-backed invading mercenaries.

The vicious' feature of Soviet-social-imperialism is becoming more and more exposed before the African and Arab people," it said.

Conspiracy allegation: The Sudan Foreign Ministry today accused the Soviet Union of launching a new conspiracy against Sudan, "which has come in the form of a naked and direct intervention from outside the continent".

The ministry statement, carried by Omdurman radio in a broadcast monitored in London, denied Soviet allegations that Sudan was preparing a military attack on Ethiopia.

It said yesterday's Tass statement "smells to us of a new conspiracy planned by the Soviet Union against our country".

It added: "The statement is nothing more than a prepara-

tion for that conspiracy, which may come in, the form of a naked and direct intervention from outside the continent or in the form of an increased consignment of arms to flow to the regime of Addis Ababa, perhaps to save it from the dark days ahead."

Tito also charged that the regime of Addis Ababa, perhaps to save it from the dark days ahead,

was seeking a Middle East Airlines Boeing 707 and demanded a ransom of 15m Kuwaiti dinars (£3m) before being overpowered by commandos on board the aircraft here.

Meanwhile, Ethiopia accused Sudan of massing troops along its western border in an attempt to create tension and a state of conflict with Ethiopia.

The official Ethiopian news agency, in a message telexed to Reuters in London, quoted a spokesman for the Ministry of Information and National Guidance as saying that Sudan had increased its troop build-up on the border during the past few days in a clear act of provocation.

He had taken over the airliner in mid-flight as it was heading to Baghdad from Beirut. Brandishing a pistol and a hand grenade, he forced the pilot to fly here.

The passengers, mainly Arabs but including several British and American businessmen, today flew on to Bagdad in another aircraft as the MEA Boeing was damaged in the shooting.

The hijacker, identified as Mr Nasser Muhammad Ali Abu Khalid, demanded that the ransom be paid in equal shares by Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Iraq, according to a statement by Shabab Saad al-Abdullah al-Sabah, the Kuwait Defence and Interior Minister.

The minister said he refused the hijacker's demand during seven hours of negotiations at Kuwait International airport, and then ordered the commandos to move in.—Reuter.

Two black civilians were shot dead by guerrillas who attacked a crowded supermarket in the Magwegwe township in Bulawayo yesterday, an official communiqué said. It alleged that a group of armed men fired indiscriminately into the supermarket, killing a female till assistant. The town is some 220 miles south-west of here.

"An African assistant manager ran from the building and was gunned down," the communiqué said. "He died shortly afterwards."

The statement said that later in the day, a bus in the same area came under small arms fire, but no one was injured.—Reuter.

Rhodesia's main rail line blown up by guerrillas

Salisbury, June 6.—Black nationalists guerrillas today blew up Rhodesia's main railway line, only two days after wrecking the pylons which carry electric power lines to Salisbury.

A spokesman for Rhodesian railways said that the line was out of action for seven hours while the tracks were repaired. There was no damage to trains or passengers, a communiqué stated.

The line through the central Rhodesian mining district carries chrome, tobacco, copper, mica, cotton and meat exported through South Africa in defiance of United Nations trade sanctions imposed on the rebel British colony. It is also used for importing consumer goods.

Military headquarters said that explosives were detonated

between the small towns of Que Que and Grootfontein on the main track running between Salamanca and Bulawayo, the second largest city.

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6,000 US troops to leave S Korea by 1979

Washington, June 6.—The United States has informed South Korea and Japan that it intends to withdraw about 6,000 American ground troops from South Korea by the end of next year, in the first phase of President Carter's withdrawal programme, administration officials said yesterday.

They said that the initial timetable was conveyed to Korean and Japanese officials by Mr Philip Habib, Under-Secretary of State for Political Affairs, and General George Brown, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, on their visit to the area last month.

The Opposition said recently that security forces had reduced crime and violence to "manageable proportions".

The emergency was imposed after a spate of political murders and violence which the Government claimed were part of a foreign plot.

The opposition party consistently maintained that the emergency was a device to intimidate critics and that the majority of detainees were opposition party supporters.

At least five men were killed and 10 wounded in the past 24 hours, according to some reports.—Reuter.

The two men together with Mr John Ehrlichman, Mr Nixon's domestic affairs adviser, were sentenced in February, 1975, to prison terms ranging from 50 months to eight years each. They were convicted after a three-month trial of covering up evidence of White House involvement in the June, 1972 Watergate burglary.

Mr Ehrlichman is already in jail serving a sentence for his role in directing another break-in at the office of a psychiatrist treating Mr Daniel Ellsberg, who leaked the secret Pentagon papers about the Vietnam war.

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At a joint statement issued at the end of three hours of discussion said two formulas had emerged but a spokesman for the Government and the Opposition declined to say what the formulas were.

The Government told the Opposition that 2,000 people detained as a result of the three-month-old anti-Government agi-

tation had been released in keeping with a Government assurance on June 3, adding that there were still about a thousand more in jail.

The Opposition asked the Government to instruct the Ministry of the Interior to furnish a complete report of people detained throughout the country. The Opposition says the figure is 100,000.

A full bench of seven judges of the Supreme Court has begun hearing a Government appeal against the judgment by the Lahore High Court last week declaring the imposition of martial law on the district since April 21 contrary to the constitution and trials of civilians by military courts illegal.

In Karachi and Hyderabad curfew restrictions have been lifted from today.

Newspapers today were full of pictures of white police with

dogs struggling with rioting black football fans at Johannesburg's Rand Stadium where a game between a Soweto side, Moroka Swallows and a white team, Highlands Park, had to be abandoned.

Two newspapers said the basic reason for the riot was that mixed football is still confined to black teams versus white teams, and not between thoroughly integrated sides.

Vietnam diplomatic sources

said the Prime Minister, M

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Meanwhile, Mr Brezhnev and

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They expressed satisfaction

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Why 24 people wore ear-muffs and false noses

My well-known belief that all scientists are mad has just received support so powerful that for a time it threatened to unhinge my own reason, and by the time I have finished this morning I fear that many of you will be unshakably convinced that it did.

The subject is, on the one hand, autokinetic phenomena, and on the other, noses. With noses I shall presume that you are familiar; autokinesis which may be less so, is the curious optical illusion in which, if you are staring in otherwise complete darkness at a fixed point of light, the light seems to move, though in fact it does not. These things are brought together, though for the moment you are no doubt unable to see how, (rest assured that you may be in the same bewilpered condition even when I have explained), in *Nature*, the eminently respectable scientific magazine, by a Mr Frederick of the University of Aberdeen. (Mr Frederick writes from the Psychology Department, which suggests that he certainly ought to be all right in the head, it being, you might say, his job to be. But he may be a patient from a local funny-farm brought along for the students to practise on.)

Mr Frederick begins by quoting a fellow scientist in this field, one Bower, who points out that most animals, including man, have noses so positioned that they are visible to the wearer. (You can only see your own nose properly if you cross your eyes and look down; but it is evidently visible, on the edge of your visual field, all the time.) From that Bower goes on to wonder whether the nose plays some part in visual perception, and whether, therefore, people with no noses have impaired vision ("Unfortunately"), says Frederick, "this clinical condition is now rarely encountered"—oh, what shame—thus making it very difficult to test the theory.)

Baffled, the good Frederick turns the problem neatly on its head. In the autokinetic experiment, the nose must be, ex hypothesi, invisible. Why not, therefore, make it visible and see if the light-point still seems to move? But if you make the nose visible, by switching the lights on, the darkness on which the optical illusion depends will vanish. And at that point, Doc Frederick gets into his stride.

Two alternative methods suggest themselves. The subject may wear a luminous false nose, or small electric light bulbs may be inserted in his nostrils, illuminating the nose from within. Each method has disadvantages. The luminous false nose has a pale greenish-white appearance and does not correspond in size and conformation to the subject's own nose...

Well, no. And not only in size and conformation, I should have thought, unless Doc Frederick is in the habit of meeting people with pale greenish-white noses, which would speedily drive even me off my head, and I'm not a scientist. But there are also the disadvantages of the other method to be considered—the one where they show small electric light-bulbs up your nostrils and switch on.

The inserted light bulbs involve a degree of physical discomfort, but the organ visible is the subject's own (unless young). Frederick, with one of those high-pitched giggles, has switched noses on the poor devil while his attention was distracted, even though translucent pink in colour.

"What do you mean?" Even though it's better than pale greenish-white, isn't it?

Each of the subjects (twelve girls, with an average age of 18.56 years, to quote our master again) had one period staring at a point of light while wearing a luminous false nose, one wearing light-bulbs in the nostrils, and one wearing nothing but the nose she was born with. No significant results either for the onset of the autokinetic illusion, or its duration, were found.

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Sir John Colville on what could be the future shape of government

Devolution can offer Britain a new design for democracy

The operations of the devil you know are generally preferred to harnessed experiments in areas where the foul fiends may lurk. This is the predictable British response to any suggestion of tampering with a political system which has evolved over the centuries and is proclaimed as the inspiration of all the democratic systems of parliamentary government established in the past 400 years.

The shawl in which the Mother of Parliaments is wrapped is layers thick. Can it and should it be unwound?

There are few more shamefully misused words than democracy. It is sentimentally linked with ancient Athens where, in fact, slavery was the basis of the system. It is applied with obvious deceit to political systems in Eastern Europe, Asia and Africa where a group of leaders or the manipulators of a single party declare themselves the sole, infallible interpreters of the people's will.

In Britain it is used by Maoists and Marxists, no less than by the established political parties as a synonym for virtue. British governments, seldom chosen by anything approaching a majority of the electors, may strive by comparison with others which call themselves democratic. But it is only by comparison.

They, too, have little justification for their claim to act and legislate in the people's name.

For Parliament has long been incapable of controlling the executive. The House of Commons, which originally endorsed legislation which it has neither examined nor approved in detail.

The new surge of devolutionary enthusiasm presents an opportunity for radical change and for the introduction of a system which could, without achieving the probably unattainable goal of genuine democracy, come a great deal closer to than does our time-hallowed but decreasingly respected establishment at Westminster.

We may, perhaps, be approaching a return to something reminiscent of the Anglo-Saxon heptarchy. If so, we may silence broken from time to time—the crazy Frederick does not mention it by a sneeze or two). Everybody is staring fixedly at a point of light, apart, I suppose, from those who have fallen asleep, or who are laughing so helplessly that the tears pouring down their faces preclude them from observing anything at all. And round and about, in and out, there skips Mad Fred, clutching his clipboard; sometimes he has his hand inside his jacket like that, to indicate that he is Napoleon, sometimes, when the fit is on him, he is heard insisting querulously that he is Julius Caesar, and he claims, as well he might, that he is the Dong with the Luminous Nose. No significant effect of any kind is recorded, and Oor Daft goes back to his Aberdeen funny-farm a madder and a wiser man.

In spite of the Queen's evident pique and irritation (which she gave full vent in her diary), Salisbury's lack of concern about the jubilee was entirely in character. Consummate aristocrat that he was, he found the Court and its trappings completely uninteresting. Indeed, having had no difficulty in repeatedly declining a dukedom—he would do so again during the year—he found it most easy to ignore a mere jubilee.

And when he gets there, so help me, he concludes that "It may be that the techniques employed were not sufficiently refined". For my own part, I would say that they certainly were not—indeed, that so far from being refined, they approached uncomfortably close to being coarse. Yet all, even now, is not lost: "The project," says Frederick, "is at an early stage."

Is it, indeed? Then none of you can say that you have not been warned. There is a man running about Aberdeen at this very moment who is liable to descend on innocent citizens, clap ear-muffs and voluminous non-reflexive black hair-dress, swaddlings upon them, artificial rubber noses over their own, ram light-bulbs up their nostrils, and drag them off to a nearby cellar, there to work his wicked will upon them—the wicked will in quest being to make them stare at a fixed point of light and tell him when it starts to move. "Canst thou tell?", asks Lear's Fool, "why one's nose stands in the middle of one's face?" "No", says Lear. "Why?" comes the reply, "to keep one's eyes of either side's nose." The Mad Scientist of Aberdeen could hardly have put it better.

In March, 1887, during one of the Marquess of Salisbury's periodic visits to Windsor Castle, Queen Victoria asked her Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary (for he held both positions) his opinion on several aspects of the impending golden jubilee and was shocked to discover he had no idea what was being contemplated or how best to organize matters.

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His lack of interest did not go well with the press.

Seeming to understand that the royal events of his day needed more organizational expertise and attention than the casually ordered affairs which had taken place earlier in the reign, Salisbury did however make some steps to help matters along.

In December, 1886, he asked the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe,

Lord Steward, to head a special committee to coordinate the various departments involved in the event. Though this was a step in the right direction, Mount Edgcumbe was under no illusions about how limited his power and authority was. In

idied into regions with assemblies autonomous in all but a number of such reserved functions as defence, foreign affairs and the national budget.

The North East (Northumberland, Durham and North Yorkshire), Lancashire, West Cumbria, Cheshire and Staffordshire; South and West Yorkshire, with Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and parts of Lincolnshire; East Anglia, embracing also Cambridgeshire, South Lincolnshire, most of Essex, Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire and perhaps Buckinghamshire; Mercia, centred on Birmingham and stretching eastwards to Leicestershire and Northamptonshire, westwards to the Welsh border and southwards to Newport; the South West, with its capital at Bristol and including Gloucestershire as well, perhaps, as Oxfordshire and Berkshire; the counties south of London from Hampshire to Kent; and, largest of all, London with a slice of the Home Counties.

Regional assemblies would also be that in some regions, and eventually in all, men and women would be elected to the assembly because they were locally known and respected and not because of the party attached to their names.

Reasonable election expenses

should be provided from the public purse for those who showed there was a substantial support for their candidature, so that no serious aspirant to serve his region was thwarted by inability to call on his party.

Regional assemblies would also be subjected to any nationally enforced social doctrines. Thus, for example, one region might decide in favour of universal comprehensive education while another might choose to retain and support its grammar schools.

Revenues would be raised, on the authority of the assembly, by local taxation. The regulations imposed by each assembly, or the regulations it imposed, would be valid in its own region, but local ordinances of whatever kind would be circumscribed by a basic code of Common and Statute Law which could only be changed when a substantial majority of Assemblies were in favour.

All the regions would have their corps of administrative officials, on the recruitment and remuneration of whom the assembly would decide. Each would have a Speaker and would appoint, either by vote of general acclamation, members charged with the direction of health, local taxation, education and other regional functions.

There would be disparities of population. The North East would have little more than 1 million inhabitants, whereas Greater London and its slice of the Home Counties would exceed 10 million. This is itself a cogent reason for giving the sparsely populated areas a large element of autonomy, for the needs of Durham and Newcastle should not be subordinated to those of the thickly populated areas in the Midlands and the south.

If the southern English believe that dagoes begin at Dover, those north of the Tees may be forgiven when they substitute Darlington for Dover.

Each of the new regions would contain existing or modified county councils, boroughs and districts. These would, no doubt, be left to run their affairs much as at present, but they would be subordinated to the regional assembly.

Because the assemblies had greater power and influence than the present organs of local government, it is to be expected that the splashy and low turn-out long typical of local elections would vanish. It might

If justice was, in the main,

regional, there would nevertheless be a national Court of Appeal competent to pronounce on regional as well as national law and on the application of a Bill of Rights, valid for the United Kingdom as a whole, which all the regional assemblies would be required to accept as a basic element of the Royal Charter by which they were established.

This Bill of Rights would assure the liberties of the subject and would contain provisions to enable citizens of any region to appeal against victimization.

It might be open to amendment by a joint recommendation from at least three quarters of the regional assemblies, subject to endorsement by the highest federal court of justice. It should be a straightforward document, stripped of jargon and, unlike most modern legislation, comprehensible to all reasonably literate citizens.

The council of state would be restricted in its power to one hundred members. The majority of them would be representatives selected by each of the regional assemblies, including Scotland, Wales and Ulster. There might also be a few ex officio members, such as judges and nominees of the TUC, as well as a small leavening of distinguished men and women from the civil service, industry, the churches and the universities appointed by the Sovereign on the recommendation of the council.

The council would select either from among its own members or from outside, ministers to participate in actions which affected him locally and which would certainly be his local newspaper and radio station that are measures now debated (and scarcely reported) in the distant chambers, corridors and committee rooms of the Palace of Westminster.

There would be many problems. Some regions would be richer than others. Industrial companies with factories in different parts of the country would be subject to varying regulations and local taxes. Regional police forces and such things as motorway repairs would have to be nationally coordinated.

The drafting and general acceptance of the Bill of Rights might give rise to controversy. The action or inaction of the Council of State might antagonise one or another of the regional assemblies when their own representatives on the council were outvoted.

However, if the honour or something comparable to it may be back with us before the present century ends, it is not too early to debate the best, simplest and most practical way to mould the shape of things to come.

1. The United Kingdom would remain intact but radically decentralized.

2. Political parties as we know them today would in due course wither away as the regions

Stand by to repel Japweed



The wash of torn-up of the seaweed pop called Japweed (*Sargassum*) which was found on the Isle of Wight in February 1973, is seen along the south coast. Watchers, naturalists and beach-prowlers kinds are asked now to careful watch for any it on the shore and to its presence, if found, Department of Marine at Portsmouth Polytechnic Heyling Island, Hants.

Peering down at the all the same is not natural bird-watchers. But there compensation for this gaze at the strangled made imperative to harder than usual for an birds, either from migrants or from

After a few days the bird sound catches Last week first there were penetrations, whickerings Sandwich Terns and away from the water stone-on-stone "chack" bobbing Weavers farther the beach. Both sounds bird-watchers straighten backs quickly and as the went on, the Japweed sea was more frequently ruptured. Strange reeling gested the possibility Dartford Warbler up gorse and blackthorn.

Then the search was by a few Nightingales and the yellowish phrases of a lesser throat. No one bothered up at the screech of Ring-necked Parakeets. voices are familiar colony became natural did so well in wildflower flocks round a coastal

But the high "sweep" low Wagtails, the tit-tit-tit of Seven-Whistlers, the purr of early Turnstones, Dove, all a pair and lark-like bunting.

Little Terns are at last. Swallows and twirler over the edge flocks behind the sea—it was just luck that happened to look up to earliest Swift flying sil. land on April 24.

As the summer bilt in now, faster and faster difficult to go on for the alien brown. The distractions are but it is important any fragments of *Sargassum*, as this plant could become a small fishing boats, trolley along the California coast.

So we go on searching, gazing down washed in seaweeds, the tides and shoals us from the top of it. In fact we stood and only exclaimed "Well, Cuckoo shouted on sounding triumphant arrived in England again.

Jeffrey L. Lant, an administrator at Boston College in Massachusetts, wrote his doctoral dissertation at Harvard on Queen Victoria's Golden and Diamond Jubilees. His most recent article on the subject appears in the summer issue of Nineteenth Century magazine.

Also

How Queen Victoria and Lord Salisbury nearly wrecked the 1887 jubilee

In January, 1887, for instance, he informed the Prime Minister that: "The committee see how they can be of much use—as everything will be undertaken by the particular department under which it comes".

This being the case, the jubilee committee quickly stopped meeting, thus leaving each department to work—or more accurately, to postpone its work—independently.

In the meantime, Salisbury completely put the jubilee out of his mind and concentrated instead on the more important matters of isolating Lord Randolph Churchill, a potential threat to his ministry, who had recently resigned as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and cementing the still uneasy alliance with the Liberal Unionists under Lord Hartington.

In addition, he also had the royal to worry about. Following the defeat of Gladstone's Home Rule Bill in 1886, Salisbury came to power pledged to maintain the union and bring quiet if not peace to Ireland through the imposition of a martial law measure, which the Irish called the "Jubilee Coercion Bill".

Under the cool leadership of Charles Stewart Parnell, the Irish Nationalists along with a fair number of Radical-Liberals under the capricious direction of Henry Labouchere meant to see what they could do to thwart this plan by obstructing all parliamentary business.

To the Queen the choice was simple—one: either bring Connaught home and reappoint him after the jubilee, or pass a special Act to exempt him from the existing law. To the

ministry, matters were hardly so cut and dried.

For one thing, the Salisbury Cabinet was by no means as committed to the Duke of Connaught as the press and public became aware of the distinctly United and meagre nature of the impending ceremony.

Finally, the organ of the ministry, the *Evening Standard*, joined in editorizing that, "It is our duty to say, at once, and in the plainest language, that the procession destined for Jubilee Day . . . is utterly independent, mean, pinched, and narrow, and appears to be dictated by a paroxysm of spirit unworthy of a rich and powerful State".

It is a matter of history, of course, that the golden jubilee did not fail. It succeeded, however, in spite of both Lord

Salisbury and especially the Queen rather than because of the provinces did not allow the muddle, disorganization and small mindedness of the London events to bother them unduly but went right ahead to transform what was ostensibly a royal occasion into a great popular celebration in honour of themselves and 50 years of progress which had marked Victoria's reign.

Jeffrey L. Lant, an administrator at Boston College in Massachusetts, wrote his doctoral dissertation at Harvard on Queen Victoria's Golden and Diamond Jubilees. His most recent article on the subject appears in the summer issue of Nineteenth Century magazine.

The Beaverbrook saga: weary, stale, flat and unprofitable

"When do you think it will all be settled?", I was asked recently by a director of Beaverbrook Newspapers, who moaned when I said I thought it might be at least reasonably conclusive by November. Businessmen know a bid and counter-bid saga takes nine months but, while newspapers are commodities in the sense that they must be bought, sold or financially supported if unable to support themselves, there is a difference. Unlike a can of paint or a brand of wallpaper, there is so much about the production of a newspaper that depends on human energy rather than technical production.

At Beaverbrook, that energy is being so tapped that many are already wishing the board had accepted the original Associated Newspapers offer for the *Evening Standard* and got on with producing newspapers. Morale is desperately low, and middle executives are taking the strain even more than top executives.

"We are flat, flat and tired," one man told me. Another said: "Do you know together with the creative teams to sell the papers which may or may not exist and if they do continue to exist, what will be their characters and what, therefore, will be the promotional control?

In return for a cash injection and some interim power, Mr Murdoch would want to hand over management to his own chosen few. He found his talks with Sir Max at the beginning of last week totally inconclusive and went back to New York with an open mind about any invitation from the Beaverbrook board. Mr Murdoch is not going to repeat the *Observer* drama, when he answered an appeal for help, only to be called names and cast out when something else was offered. This time, he must be offered a firm proposal.

Historically, the Beaverbrook newspapers can hardly be said to have been run for the financial benefit of shareholders, apart from Rupert Murdoch, who is still willing to "mix those shareholders

mainly family men and women. Now, with inflation eroding their lifestyles, the Aitken family can hardly be blamed for wanting the best of any deal, while the trustees of the Foundation have a bounden duty to seek the best cash terms. The best does not involve Sir James Goldsmith and Mr "Tiny" Rowland with their "Carvo" syndicate. For Carvo would not wish to be putting into the pockets of the Aitkens and the Beaverbrook Foundation some £5m to £7m (as they would need to if a takeover became necessary). Carvo would seek to spend all available cash on rescuing the newspapers and the company.

For more cash, Beaverbrook would have to seek a rights issue, which in itself would involve a wait of at least three months. Carvo would underwrite the rights issue, and the price

Le Monde
LA STAMPA
THE TIMES
DIE WELT
Europa

Bringing oil prices into line

Influence of power between the producing countries and the position of an increase in the price of a constant source of anxiety to the rest of the world. Although the ministers do not meet again until July 12 in Stockholm, the price energy source, which is essential to western economies, has once again become the issue of the day.

With the end of the winter there has been a sharp decline in fuel demand, although consumption had been high in the United States during the first quarter as a result of a particularly harsh winter. At the same time, Saudi Arabia has achieved a substantial increase in production, which is now running at more than 20 million barrels a day and the pipeline fire on May 11 at Abqaiq will not affect output significantly.

Saudi Arabia has also succeeded in persuading Algeria not to increase its price for "crude" during the second quarter, as had been planned. Even Iraq, which is officially one of the most extreme members of Opec, has reduced its prices by a few cents in recent weeks. This was the depressed context in which Senator Carlos Andres Perez, President of Venezuela, attempted to reconcile the two camps in Opec when he made a tour of the Gulf at the end of April.

Was he successful? On May 16 the Middle East Economic Survey, an all

strength of its wealth and its position as the world's largest oil exporter, the Wahabi Kingdom is managing to assert its point of view, that the oil will be obliged to abandon their 5 per cent increase scheduled for July 1.

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publication having close connexions with Saudi Arabia, announced that agreement had been reached on the abandonment of the 5 per cent increase, and that the Shah of Iran had justified this decision in a letter to King Khalid in terms of his desire to reduce the spread of prices in the hope that Riyadh would not step up production to an extent which would be detrimental to the interests of its partners in Opec.

Although an official announcement of this decision has been delayed, its authenticity has been supported by Indonesia's statement to the effect that it would be freezing its prices until the end of the year.

What is Saudi Arabia going to do now? Will its motives for moderation prove to be sufficient grounds for continuing to remain aloof from the other producers?

The world economy is certainly on a better course than a few months ago, but the general picture remains one of persistent inflation, high unemployment, and considerable balance of payments deficits. In the Israel-Arab conflict, although President Carter seems prepared to give undertakings to Riyadh, the results of the Israeli general election on May 18 and Mr

Begin's refusal to hand over the occupied territories or agree to the establishment of a Palestinian settlement in the West Bank make the prospects for a solution that much more remote.

Finally, the closing conference of the North-South dialogue on May 30 and 31 and June 1 in Paris, has not fully satisfied the countries of the Third World. So who is to be believed: Shaikh Yamani, who maintains that his country "does not intend to modify its position on the question of the price of oil", or Prince Faisal, who is thinking in terms of a gradual alignment of the prices of the two camps, or the Arab oil minister who believes that Saudi Arabia is prepared to agree to a 3 per cent increase in the second quarter?

Come what may, the triumph of Saudi Arabia's moderate line will hold good as far as 1977 is concerned. Whereas in October 1976 the most optimistic experts were expecting a 10 per cent increase and there was even talk of 15 to 20 per cent, the average increase for the year will not be more than 9 per cent whatever happens.

Bruno Dethomas

On the contrary

A jubilee ode

Hail noble Queen! Scarce twenty-five years crown'd,
Thy realm of islands now to Europe bound.
Hail to a monarch unconstrain'd and free!
Accept our homage at thy jubilee!

Fair female scion of illustrious line,
Since nineteen-fifty-two this throne is thine;
And by a happy chance that self-same date
Saw crown'd in Luxembourg, with equal state,
A sovran power—a high authority—
To share with thee this quarter-century.

In nineteen-fifty-two proud Monnet stated
Th' United States of Europe were created:
And from that tiny seed of coal and steel
Would soon spring solid, manifest and real,
A true Community of Six, then Nine,
In which old Europe's nations would combine
To set aside the quarrels of the past,
And in the world make common cause at last—
To rule like thee, by peace, not force of arms,
O'er towns and meadows, factories and farms.

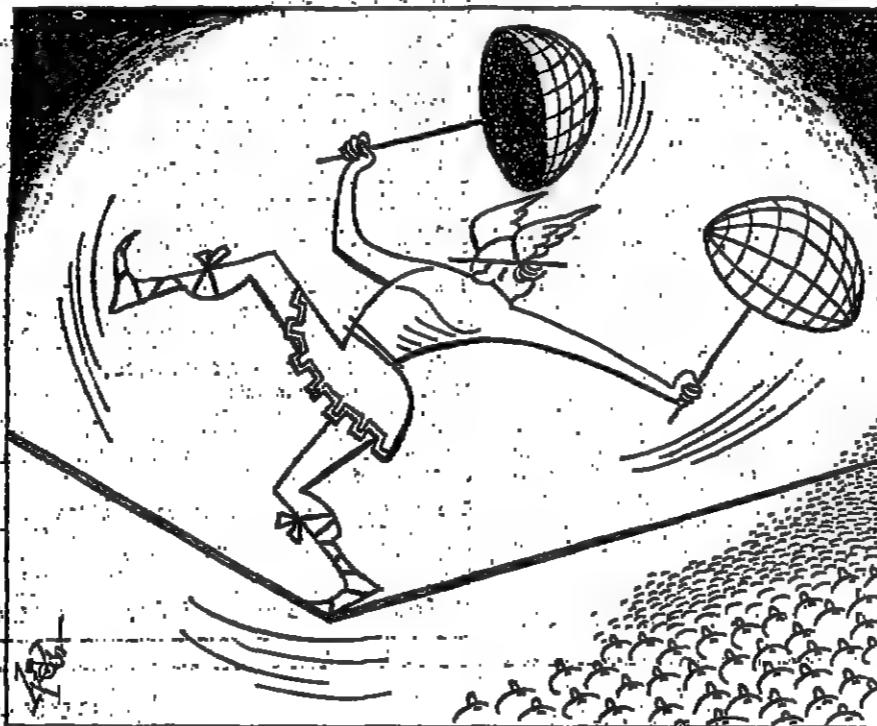
Alas! Today those hopes look faint and pale;
While politicians rant and poets rail,
Abroad, the world resounds to revolution;
At home, thy throne is rock'd by devolution;
Direct elections, once our dearest prize;
Are fading fast before our very eyes;
And while much European ardour cools,
Perverse Britannia once more waives the rules.

Is all awry? Must Europe fade like this,
Its love-match ended with a Judas kiss?
It cannot be! Great monarch, raise thy voice!
Against the barons back thy people's choice!
Lest Europe to the East become a martyr—
Or fall a prey instead to Magna Carter.

Hail noble Queen! May God thy reign prolong
Till Eurovision means far more than song;
Till Europe rules the unpolluted waves,
And Europeans never more be slaves.

Pangloss

Comecon's increasing debt to West



higher by 1980, when many present debts will mature. Borrowers will then have either to default, which is scarcely thinkable, or to reschedule them. At about the same time many East European countries could also find themselves having to spend more of their precious hard currency on oil, which the Russians will not be able to supply in sufficient quantity. Consumption is now rising faster than production.

There seems little prospect of reducing stress through further integration, which paradoxically has proved far more difficult for the fraternal alliance of planned economies than for the conflict-ridden capitalists. That is partly because bureaucracies are less rational than market forces, partly because integration means domination by the Soviet Union, which is resisted by the small countries, and partly because most members have been turned more to the West for technology and hard currency.

Nor is there any progress towards a convertible currency. If anything there has been a retreat from the idea of exposing Comecon to the vagaries of western exchange markets.

Even the much-discussed transferable rouble, which plays a growing role as an accounting unit inside Comecon, seems no nearer becoming a means of payment outside. Instead hard currencies and gold are being increasingly used within Comecon.

Comecon is not turning in on itself but there will be no rapid changes in its relations with the West. The slow exchange of letters between it and the Community is a symptom of not only political inhibition but also of economic realities.

The Russians have little to gain from negotiations, except on fishing, because they export mainly fuel and raw materials. Their East European allies want easier access but are denied it largely for reasons other than the limits on negotiation.

The Community, apart from not wanting to treat Eastern Europe as a block (an interest quietly shared by the East Europeans themselves), has little to gain from negotiation except political recognition, for which it rightly feels no need to pay a significant price. By almost all calculations Comecon needs the Community more than the Community needs Comecon.

Beneath these difficulties is the simple fact that reciprocity is meaningless between such different systems. The East Europeans complain constantly, and sometimes with justice, about quotas and tariffs, but they have a far greater range of instruments which they use under different names by virtue of their total control over trade, prices and currencies. Free trade means nothing under such circumstances.

Mr John Pinder has suggested in a recent paper that concessions by the West on market access could be matched by the Comecon countries adjusting their investment plans to reserve areas of their markets for western goods.

It is an interesting idea but East Europeans could not easily accept this sort of planned dependence on the West, especially in more modern areas of production.

Thus the hesitant courtship between the two totally different partners will continue while trade responds largely to its own forces.

East Europe will become more dependent on the Soviet Union but its interest in western trade will not diminish. It will try to sell more and buy less, and it will try even harder for compensation agreements under which plant is paid for in goods.

Perhaps its immediate future will not be quite as gloomy as some of this article suggests. It is strongly underpinned by the economic and military power of the Soviet Union and its raw material supplies are less vulnerable than those of the West.

Its societies also enjoy a certain sort of stability through stable prices, full employment and a very acute awareness of the proximity of Russian tanks. But taken as a whole it is in for a period of stress and it continues to look like a rather heavy vehicle on the fast motorway of change.

Richard Davy

western alliance gratefully a new sense of purpose from ston the eastern alliance plods into a phase of deepening unity. It is growing well; it is heading for leaner and awkward adjustments to circumstances. Growth rates are down, labour shortages are rising, production prices are rising—consumers are having to cut back expectations, and debts to the inexorably accumulating.

All targets for the current plan are more modest than the last. Investment is to be particularly in new construction. Industrial production in as a whole is planned to per cent in 1976-80 compared per cent achieved in 1971-75. This is to grow 18 per cent of 25 per cent, retail sales cent instead of 45 per cent. In those targets may prove dubious. Results for 1976 were not particularly encouraging.

East European countries have suffered a marked deterioration in terms of trade. They pay western goods while finding markets for the exports they can afford to pay for these goods. At time they face enormous increases in the prices of Russian oil imports, which are adjusted to a five-year average of world prices. Higher prices for man-made exports to the Soviet Union compensate.

Higher prices cannot be fully passed on to the consumer. In some such as East Germany and Poland this is largely because

much ideological capital has been invested in price stability as a way of persuading people how lucky they are to live under socialism. In Poland the reason is straightforward fear of disorder. Prices were raised a year ago but immediately lowered again when the workers took to the streets. Only Hungary has managed a quiet adjustment to higher prices, largely because people are better informed and better accustomed to market forces.

The rest have had to pump more and more burdensome subsidies into the retail market while allowing unofficial inflation through the introduction of nominally new products or in the private markets, which thrive on shortages. All these developments could increase political stress.

There are several possible escape routes, but none without obstacles. The main needs are to make better use of resources, to raise quality for home and foreign markets, and to export more. But all those tasks require reforms of the managerial and economic systems, which are politically awkward, more western technology, for which there is not enough foreign currency, and more flexible trade with the West, which is inhibited by the bureaucratic nature of the system and a certain amount of protectionism on the western side.

Here a good part of the actual solution has been to borrow heavily from the West. Total Comecon indebtedness had probably reached something like \$40,000m by the end of 1976, an increase of about \$10,000m in 12 months, although nobody has the true figures.

There is no sign of the trend reversing, so the figure will probably be even

higher by 1980, when many present debts will mature. Borrowers will then have either to default, which is scarcely thinkable, or to reschedule them. At about the same time many East European countries could also find themselves having to spend more of their precious hard currency on oil, which the Russians will not be able to supply in sufficient quantity. Consumption is now rising faster than production.

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Richard Davy

DR DAVID OWEN, IN THIS INTERVIEW WITH DAVID SPANIER, DISCUSSES HIS VIEW OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY WITH CANDOUR AND CLARITY

Market price for new members

you think of the development of communism?

I am suspicious of the term, it implies that there is something common between the Communists in Italy and France, Spain and Portugal. I am not sure it is the case, though there are common elements. But for the relationship between the Communist Party in those countries, socialist parties is very different. For in Italy there is really a split with the democratic party, not a close working split, whereas there is a party in France.

For the question we have to ask is what is Eurocommunism? Is its attitude to democracy? Is the Communist Party in regional government in an EEC member state? Does it respect the ballot box? Has it accepted the decision-makers? That for me is the relevant question. After all there is a lot that is thought in a good many ways.

Question is, do they accept the authority of the ballot box? They always understand the term to mean that you do not have the judgment of the ballot box. There are people espousing that who do accept it, then if we are using the right

never like to see such a situation develop in the European Community as we had, for instance, for a time in Nato with the Junta in Greece, and Greece still a member of Nato; and a dictatorship in Portugal, another member of Nato. Now I believe this weakened the ethos of Nato, since we said Nato was a defence against communism and represented democratic western values.

I don't think you can compromise on this, though a lot of politicians and bureaucrats say, well don't rock the boat, it is all too difficult. It was, I think, a great service when in the late 1950s there was pressure to admit Spain to the European Community and the Dutch Government, and also the Belgians, held out against that. They were quite right to do so. Had you allowed France or Spain into the European Community, Britain would certainly never have joined, and it would have been gravely weakened.

At a practical level the Community is already extremely difficult to run. What are the implications of bringing in three or four new countries? This is a problem. One of the central reasons for agreeing to enlargement, certainly in this country, is the argument that in all three of them they recently had difficulty in establishing democracy. In Greece they had the Junta, in Portugal they have overthrown their dictatorship. In Spain they are moving towards democratic elections. Of course the Spanish Government

objective I think that is both right and important.

On the other hand, you have to accept that the process of enlargement will produce nine languages. At present we have six in the European Community. If you were to enlarge, it would be impossible to have a European Parliament in which national languages were not spoken. Ministers going to the Euro Council meetings would want to speak in their own national language, and 12 people would need to compromise instead of nine, which will delay decision-making. Of course the arguments will arise whether you should introduce majority voting, but I can't see any sign of that coming.

Are you in favour of that yourself? No. Why not?

I believe the Luxembourg compromise is right. In this unique organization, we have nine member states working together and trying to reach agreement, with an institutionalized vehicle for integration, the Commission, whose job is to try to bring people together. But the sovereign decision remains with the nine member states. I think that strange and unique compromise has got to allow any member nation to assert an overriding national interest. The danger comes if you assert that too often and too frequently. There may be something to be said for having a mechanism whereby the declaration of

national interest becomes more of an issue of moment, and has to be made rather more obviously, more publicly and therefore accountably.

Majority decision making already exists in the Council. The whole process of persuasion, isolation and argument has an inbuilt tendency for member states to rally to the views of the majority. Britain is perfectly prepared to work within the European Community on the principle that there is an obligation, where your vital interests are not affected, to rally to the majority.

The whole process of compromise is an essential element in Community decision-making. The trouble about what I call rather rudely Euro-theologians is that they are not prepared to admit this. They always want to institutionalize everything, lay down rules and pass directives and regulations. You then get into the problem of definition and I think it is almost impossible to see us ever defining a national interest and delimiting those areas which have majority decision-making.

In your experience as President of the Council do you think that there could be any particular changes that could be made to make business more effective?

At Leeds Castle we had a big discussion about the whole of decision making. One thing came out very clearly. Everyone was sure there had

continued on next page



has not yet decided whether it wants to apply to the Community. If we assume that those three are the most likely to join, one of the arguments is: we know we are going to pay an economic price for admitting them. But it is worth paying the price because of the buttressing effect this will have on their democracies. So you pay an economic price for a political

FACTS AND FIGURES

Atlantic contrast shows some sharp differences

The most striking feature of the present situation is the contrast between the rate of industrial growth and balance of trade of the United States on the one hand and the major European countries on the other. On the other side of the Atlantic production is picking up and the trade deficit is increasing; on this side the reverse is happening, as the graphs show.

American industrial production is growing at an annual rate of 8 per cent. All the statistics are encouraging: retail sales have risen 2.4 per cent in volume between February and March, and this has been accompanied by a sharp rise in consumer credit.

Only investment is refusing to show a strong, spontaneous improvement, although there are still hopes of real growth of 7 per cent from 1976 to 1977. Although the inflationary measures affecting consumption have been deliberately abandoned, those affecting capital goods deserve to be retained.

If, on balance, the level of United States business activity is satisfactory, this is far from the case with the balance of trade, where the deficit is increasing steadily. The deficit for the first quarter of 1977 (\$6,000m, fob-fob) is already as much as for the whole of 1976, and there is no sign that this will improve. The authorities are less worried by these financial problems, which are easily overcome by recycling petro-dollars, than by the effect of imports on specific industries. Two well-known instances are Japanese colour televisions and European special steels.

In the four major European countries, the picture is different. Growth is flabby, although West Germany, which, like the United States, should be well placed for renewed growth, has a low rate of inflation and low interest rates. In the three other countries this is far from being the case.

German industrial production has risen little, contrary to last month's hopes, and has even shown some signs of weakening. After reaching 7 per cent at the end of 1976 and the beginning of 1977, it is back to 3 per cent. Interpreting the figures has, it is true, become more difficult recently because of the change in the method of calculation (the figures have also been corrected in France and Italy), but several other statistics confirm the recent turning point. For example, retail sales fell 1 per cent in volumes from January to February.



The number of unemployed in Germany rose to one million in April.

Excellent Good Fairly good Poor Bad Very bad Prev. performance	Rate of growth	Quality of growth		Maintenance of growth		
		Prices	Unemployment	Productive capacity	Foreign trade	Vulnerability to external factors
GERMANY	● ●	●	○ ○	●	● ●	● ●
FRANCE	●	○ ○	○ ○	○ ○	●	● ○
ITALY	● ●	○ ○	○ ○	○ ○	○ ○	○ ○
BRITAIN	●	○ ○	○ ○	○ ○	● ●	● ●

New orders in industry, especially from abroad, also showed a fall in January and February, followed by a small increase in March. Finally, the number of unemployed, seasonally adjusted, which had been falling slowly but steadily from July 1976 until March 1977, rose again in April to the psychological figure of one million. The German trade balance is not particularly remarkable. The rate of cover of imports by exports is still well above 100 per cent, and even rose to 120 per cent in March.

The sluggishness of the French and British economies is not as surprising as it is in Germany, being the simple result of the policy of restraint of prices and incomes. Against this background one could regard an industrial growth rate of 3 per cent as a good performance, in all the circumstances.

But the indisputable success lies in the great improvement in the trade figures, where April produced brilliant results. Britain's rate of cover of imports by exports rose to 92 per cent with a surplus on current account of more than \$11m. France equalled this, also with a figure of 92 per cent. Those excellent results, brought about by a combination of restraint on home demand and stabilization of the money supply by government, were only to be expected.

Could this performance be maintained if output grew? Or would the balance revert to deficit, as in the United States? And would the resulting deficits not be far more worrying?

In fact international trade by the European countries accounts for 18 to 30 per cent of their gross national products (gnps), compared with almost 7 per cent for the United States, which makes them dependent on the international economy. Deficits, especially when uncontrollably aggravated by accompanying falling exchange rates, are difficult for them to sustain; they are also difficult to finance, another point of contrast with the United States. It is probably true to say that the Western countries are, as a group, facing the prospect of deficits for some time to come. These are simply the results of the surpluses run by the oil-producing countries, and can only be reduced slowly by international action, such as saving energy and structural adjustments by industry.

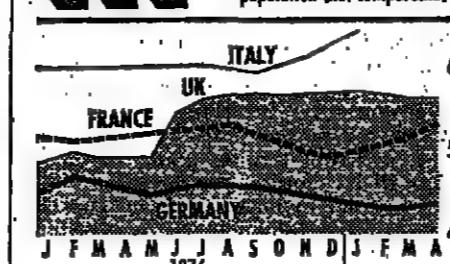
In the short term the deficit will increase with the level of production and the associated effect on oil imports. Given that, individual countries can make their relative positions better or worse according to the international competitiveness of their products, their economic policy and disengaged protectionist devices.

But those countries as a group can only slowly bring about an improvement in the global situation. All they can do is avoid making it worse by a chain reaction of protectionism. Moreover the United States, thanks to its privileged position as world banker, can lighten the deficit burden on other countries by assuming a large part of it itself. That is what it is doing.

There remains the matter of Japan and West Germany, which have been asked to restrain their overwhelming competitive edge a little, firstly by allowing the Deutsche mark and yen to appreciate—which is what has happened in the last month. But it is not likely that these monetary measures will be sufficient; voluntary self-imposed restrictions on exports are required, combined with growth in internal demand.

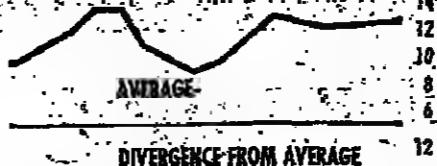
These ideas must have been in the minds of the ministers of the seven most important Western countries since the London conference of May 7 and 8, 1977: the need for close solidarity, and moderation of ambitions in the context of an international economy which is going to grow more slowly than had been hoped at the beginning of 1977.

UNEMPLOYMENT



Unemployment: In April unemployment (seasonally adjusted, expressed as a percentage of the labour force) rose markedly in France (from 5.15 to 5.3 per cent), rather less in West Germany (from 4.3 to 4.5 per cent), and stayed unchanged in Britain at 5.6 per cent.

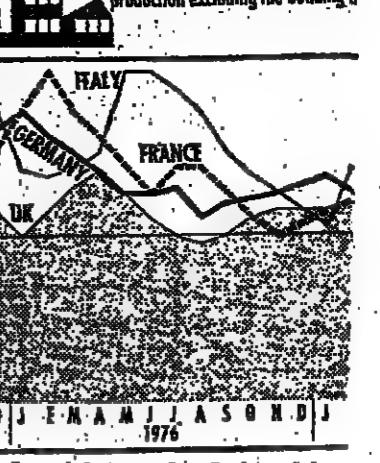
GERMANY	ITALY	PRICES	
		1976	1977
GERMANY	ITALY	16	14
FRANCE	UK	12	10
ITALY	FRANCE	8	6
BRITAIN	UK	4	2



Prices: The latest figures:

definite improvement in the rate of cover of imports by exports, calculated as usual. This was particularly noticeable in France and Britain, which reached 92 per cent in West Germany and Italy have also improved their performance, with figures for March of 119 per cent (113) and 87 per cent (83) respectively.

INDUSTRIAL GROWTH



Industrial growth: Industrial growth rates are still low, about 3 to 4 per cent. Italy is exceptional, however, with a growth rate which has gone up to 8 per cent from the beginning of 1977. The West German rate, on the other hand, has declined.

United States: comparative situation and influence

Industrial growth (● ● (● ●))

The American economy has grown strongly in the first quarter of 1977; when gnp rose 6.4 per cent in annual terms. This growth continues: the index of leading indicators rose 1.4 per cent in March, and new orders in industry rose 5.2 per cent (8 per cent for manufactured goods). Industrial production rose 0.8 per cent in April.

Prices (O, (O))

Retail prices are still rising fast: 0.8 per cent in April; over the most recent three months this gives an annual rate of inflation of 10 per cent. Wholesale prices are also rising fast: 0.8 per cent in February, 1.1 per cent in March and April. This is an annual rate of 13 per cent for the last three months. The main factor over this period has been agricultural prices, which have increased at an annual rate of 38 per cent.

Unemployment (O, (O))

Unemployment as a percentage of the labour force fell again in March to 7.3 per cent, and again in April to 7 per cent; the actual rate of unemployment fell 330,000 to 8,700,000. This improvement was the result of a large increase in vacancies, more than a million in April, and 2,300,000 over the past six months.

Productive capacity (● (●))

The rate of capacity use has improved, rising from 80.7 per cent in February to 81 per cent in March. Investment forecasts are optimistic for 1977, although all doubt and uncertainties are far from settled.

Trade (O, (O))

The deficit on the trade balance was as large in the first quarter of 1977 as for the whole of 1976: \$5,900m, calculated fob-fob, and fob-cif basis (the normal one in the European countries) it was \$8,800m. In April the deficit reached \$2,600m fob-fob and \$3,800m fob-cif basis.

Influence on the four countries

Monetary and financial: The American money market has tightened again. The overnight rate is up to 5 per cent, and a number of American banks (including Citibank, Chase and Morgan Guaranty) have increased their prime rate from 6.25 to 6.5 per cent. In Europe the relaxation continues. Britain has made further reductions in minimum lending rate which now stands at 8 per cent. In Germany, interest rates in the money market have fallen in West Germany to 4 per cent, and the long-term rates are down from 7 per cent to 6.5 or 6.6 per cent.

Economic: The main preoccupation of the western countries seems once again to be inflation. The United States, faced by the poor improvement in growth and the price spiral, has drawn back from reflating and pressuring its partners to reflate. West Germany is holding its policy of caution. Japan, on the other hand, with the threat to its exports, will encourage domestic consumption. The national climate will eventually be rather less favourable for the other countries.

O Poor OO Bad ● Fairly good ● ● Good (●) Previous performance

How the heavy lira was conceived

In the United States, there are even some \$10,000 bills in circulation. There are not many of them—400 in all, apparently—and their movements are no doubt rather circumspect and slow; but they do exist, and each one of them is worth almost 9m Italian lire at the present rate of exchange, a figure that would not look out of place as one of the prizes in a national lottery.

It is not surprising, therefore, that some people in Italy are thinking of a currency change that would make one new "heavy" lira equal to 1,000 of the present very "light" lire, which are becoming increasingly insubstantial as time goes by, because of a rare of domestic inflation that it seems impossible to bring below 20 per cent a year.

Certainly, it would be more dignified for the Italian currency if you got only 9,000 lire in exchange for a \$10,000 bill; or only 375 for a German DM 1,000 note; or 350 for a Swiss 1,000 franc note; or 90 for a French 500 franc note, and as little as 75 for a British £50 note, instead of the present figures, all a thousand times greater.

But it is not easy to say to an Italian: "Give me a thousand old lire, and I will give you one new lira." It is difficult to explain to him that this would not be a devaluation, but

a technical operation to simplify calculations and public and private sector balance sheets, and restore prestige to the currency; and that everything would adjust itself to the new value of the lira, from prices to rents, and salaries and pensions.

Besides, quite apart from a certain reluctance to disclose one's own liquid assets, when the changeover to the new money takes place and the old notes are all put up in bundles, anyone who has lire, light though they may be, is incurably attached to them. This is shown by the level of savings in Italy, which have never risen so quickly in the banks as over the past few years, and now stand in excess of 120,000,000m lire (light lire, because if they were heavy there would only be 120,000m).

Even though the proposal—it would be more exact to say "suggestion"—came from one of the Bank of Italy's auditors, Signor Alberto Campolongo, also a professor of economics and, as such, a reliable, authoritative expert, its acceptance in the end is still open to a great many doubts worthy of attention. It is not so much the fear that there might be a repetition of the situation 30 years ago when the plates, which were all ready for printing the new heavy lire notes—at that time the ratio of old to new was to be 100 to one—were stolen. The theft was a coup, by the usual person or persons unknown, that was as futile as it was audacious, since the changeover, if it had been decided on, never took place.

The real cause for concern is the amount of bank notes that would have to be withdrawn, the possible repercussions of the operation on prices—which, light as the present lira are always ready to rise—and the cost and complications for the Government, which would have to print the banknotes and mint the new coins, and for the private sector, which would have to adapt vending and accounting machines to the new currency.

Among the many records that Italy holds—more of the unflattering ones today, unfortunately—is the one for the largest circulation of paper money in relation to the number and income of the inhabitants. At the end of 1976, according to official figures, there were Bank of Italy notes in existence, in various denominations from 1,000 to

100,000 lire, to a value of more than 14.5m lire; and here it might be of interest to note, as the sign of a currency with a low purchasing power, and also as a sign of excessive liquidity, that there are many more 10,000 lire notes than 1,000 lire notes—more than 617 million of the one, less than 400 million of the other.

As both residents and visitors to Italy know, 500 lire notes are rare and so, especially, are the metal coins from 100 lire downwards, causing a small change crisis that is not the least serious of the various crises that afflict the country today.

More than 250,000 lire are in circulation per head of the population and this figure, converted into the other currencies, is only slightly lower than the figures for France and West Germany, countries where per capita income is two or three times greater than it is in Italy. Calculations show that the total for salaries, wages and other earned income does not exceed 17.5m lire a month in Italy, and this is the ceiling beneath which bank note circulation ought to be maintained to give greater protection against inflation.

Instead, it stands at exactly twice this level, and it is no coincidence that the rate of inflation in Italy is twice what it is in France, and considerably higher even than it is in Britain, where per capita income is not very much higher than in Italy, but the amount of bank notes in circulation per head of the population is only about half the Italian figure.

The technical cost involved in changing this mass of light notes into heavy ones would be extremely high. But, above all, there is a great deal of doubt whether, in return, there would be increased respect for the new currency.

It is also true that the Italians have never had a great deal of respect for the lira, not even when, at the end of the 1950s, and of the "economic miracle", it deserved the Oscar for the most stable western currency, precisely because it was considered small and weak compared with the dollar, which was worth 625 lire, and the pound, for which the lira rate was 1,500. If, therefore, the new rate were to appear on tomorrow's foreign exchange lists, it might prompt Italians to look on their own currency with a little more respect.

Mario Salvatorelli

Market price for new members

continued from preceding page

to improvements, whether you enlarge the Community or not. I suggested that some of the things we were discussing could be introduced immediately. So we made a whole series of decisions to apply to this next meeting on June 21.

We instructed Coreper (Committee of Permanent Representatives) to make many more decisions during this period until June 21. It was agreed that in order to give this authority to Coreper, ministers would have to instruct that this should be done. We gave to the President, myself, the right to refuse items on the agenda at the Council meeting, where there was a dispute, after consultation with the President of the Commission.

It was also agreed that commissioners should go more frequently to Coreper. Apparently there was a tendency for this not to happen. Strong pleas were made that all member states should ensure that permanent representatives and any other officials who would take a prominent position in Coreper, should be people of standing in their own country. That was going to be left to the member states.

We agreed that we should meet in a small room, instead of in a great football stadium, and that we should meet with not more than four people overall: one minister, the permanent representative, and preferably one official. We also agreed that we should try to strip the agenda, and become more like national cabinets and have less of this endless detail which they compromised.

That was one of the substantial reasons why the British decided they should say "No". John Silkin has always been blamed. What should be made clear is that all of those were government decisions, made in total unanimity by his political colleagues several of whom have a record of being strong supporters of the Community. What has been underestimated is the extent of our resolve. But we are not trying to abolish the common agricultural policy.

We are not trying to undermine the concept; we recognize it is there to stay. We are, and determinedly, going to have to get used to that. If they want to run an attack on Britain for doing so, okay, we believe that we're not just doing it for the interest of Britain but also for the consumers throughout the Community.

THERE ARE ABOUT TWO MILLION YOUNG PEOPLE UNEMPLOYED IN THE EEC. WHAT IS BEING DONE?

Recession aggravates old problem

Issues at the Community meeting in London at the recent meeting of heads of state, one main theme of discussion was a campaign against rising unemployment and in particular the difficult of youth unemployment.

OECD too has recently set itself to this problem. In case of awakening conscience admission of failure? Government throughout Europe have stepped up their efforts to young people to find employment. Politicians and economists in country have concluded that based on ad hoc measures are not sufficient, and that the national rules of the free market work.

It is needed is a new conception. Young people today are the institutions to come up answers.

autumn there were two million people out of work in Europe. In months another wave of leavers will come on to the market and, in all probability, the unemployment figures still

difficulties experienced by people in finding work are not in several countries such as Belgium, France and indeed United States, the problem dates to the 1960s. The economic has merely aggravated youth unemployment, drastically, in many of the worst sufferers being young.

In the middle of 1970 people under counted for 19 per cent of the total unemployed in West Germany and 27 per cent in Italy or, but now the figure is 29 to 30 per cent, and rises above 45 per cent in autumn with the seasonal increase in unemployment.

Cover the true position is due to some extent by the attitude to young people who, given the need to find a job, for one or another give up signing on register. Although periods of employment are shorter than for workers, it is quite common for workers to experience second periods, having resigned or dismissed.

another factor "spurious play?" The exalted expectations of people under 25? The refusal of them to take a job? Not, but to a limited extent. At vents public policy would be ill-ed to believe that a large number of unemployed are willingly is the opinion voiced in a published recently by the on the subject of *The Innovation of Young People to Work*.

dition to the economic crisis has his school-leavers so hard, is a deeper crisis, a structural change between supply and demand labour market, a widening gulf in the needs of job applicants those of employers.

in face of these facts, what has and what is the policy pursued EEC nations? With frequent meetings with ministers and Commissions recommendations, the res adopted in the past or now introduced are often similar one country to another. However, in factor in this is the limited for action available to govern-

er a first phase during which was taken to improve the rates of the unemployed and in cases to prevent or limit redundancies governments have been continuing for a year or more on aid to creation and training. The has been placed on one or these activities or on both simultaneously, depending on national

temperaments, availability of financial resources and willingness to accept a budget deficit.

Some countries began by setting up machinery to limit redundancies, tightening up procedures and financial support from the state to compensate for short-time working in France, temporary subsidies (in Britain £20 a week) to employers deferring redundancies. The number of workers affected should be 224,000.

In a more positive vein, some governments have launched investment programmes or made special loans available to promote job creation; this has been done in West Germany (DM16,000 phased over several years). The Netherlands (fls.800m in 1977, fls.500m in 1978), France and Britain. The employers have committed their support for these measures; for instance private sector employers in West Germany have announced that 100,000 jobs are to be created and their counterparts in France are promising to recruit 300,000 under 25s.

Another general trend in Belgium the reduction of the retirement age; in France negotiations on the temporary introduction of early retirement before 65; in Britain a special allowance (£23 a week) for employees giving up all work one year before the statutory retirement age (12,000 people qualify for this).

However, other measures specifically aimed at helping the young have also been introduced.

Various forms of aid, subsidies or exemption from contributions, are available to companies recruiting young people. In Britain since last autumn, the state has been offering £10 a week for 26 weeks to firms recruiting young people under the age of 20 who have been unemployed for more than six months (17,000 recipients). Premiums are paid on employment of young people in their first jobs and tax exemptions are shortly to be granted on the recruitment of a young person looking for his first job.

In Italy a Bill is under consideration which provides for payment of between 32,000 and 64,000 lire a month, depending on the region, to companies recruiting for an indefinite period.

Subsidies are also granted on the recruitment of young people under an employment-training contract. This formula, launched in France in June 1975, provides for subsidies of 30 per cent of the minimum wage during working time and 100 per cent during training. This measure, whose impact was limited (30,000 contracts instead of the 100,000 hoped for) was carried on and developed in 1976, then widened in scope in 1977, so that apprentices are now included.

In Belgium and West Germany efforts are also being made to develop apprenticeship schemes. In Italy an employment-training contract scheme is planned, with subsidies of between 200 and 400 lire an hour depending on the region. It is expected that the number of young employees benefiting under it will be 400,000 to 500,000 in three years' time.

Programmes to provide people with temporary jobs working on community schemes after the example of the Canadian local initiative programme have been launched in The Netherlands and in Britain where it is used to provide work for people over 50 as well as for the young (75,000 jobs created since October 1975). A formula of this type is planned in Italy with a view to training young people in museum-keeping, forest-fire prevention, tourism and cultural activities.

Jean-Pierre Dumont

Italy: nothing to do, nowhere to go

In the past young teachers, policemen, civil servants and the like would leave Sicily to seek their fortunes elsewhere in Italy. The state was the one great employer, with many offices, schools and other bureaucratic outlets spread all over the country. Now, Palermo has been the starting point for the new university protest, which began in the arts faculty there.

A "south wind" they have called it, as opposed to the "north wind" of 1968; a movement richer in ideological content, less beset with practical obstacles, and nourished with the dogmas of communism. At Palermo they say that the new arts graduates are no longer leaving; all the jobs are taken and the student today prepares himself for unemployment. When such is the case, both those who are working and the trade unions become enemies.

At Naples the unemployed have organized themselves as an independent force. Both genuine and "temporary" students conduct their debates in the university—the sons of the middle classes and the working-class lads united in anger for a moment of solidarity. Signor Mimmo Pinto, a member of the Proletarian Democrats, a group to the left of the Italian Communist Party, says: "We don't need state charity: we have to find real jobs, clear up the city, beat speculators."

Signor Pinto is the only member of Parliament elected from the ranks of the unemployed. Before becoming a Deputy he organized demonstrations in the suburbs and marches in the city. He once blocked a road with a group of women and children, in order to convince the local authority to open a beach. The sea at Naples is polluted, but so many children can't go away on holiday; what shall we do with them?"

In Rome, capital of youthful protest and theatre of violence, there were, to begin with, poignant memories of 1968, anarchical nostalgia. A big banner proclaimed: "Let us face facts, we are asking for the impossible." There was also some hope in the slogan of the "Metropolitan Indians": "Irony is revolutionary." It seemed an even more subtle motto than the much abused: "Show imagination in power."

The Metropolitan Indians are a tribe of young people from the suburbs, who declared war on the "Pafefaces", the representatives of power and party. They say, or said, they wanted to "reconquer their lost land" and did not wish to live in reservations. They put war-paint on their faces, though they gave this up after a fashion magazine copied their style of make-up.

The Indians' irony lies in the way they twist, provocatively, the trade unions' demands. They go around shouting "Less pay, more sacrifices".

As we know, the purely verbal violence of the Indians did not spark off any round of self-criticism among the politicians (since the burden of the economic situation is too heavy). Instead, it was crushed and stifled by the fringe extremists of the movement, the terrors whose idol is the P38 automaton, the youths who salute, not with a clenched fist, but with the hand shaped to look like a pistol.

No one can say that the student movement and the young unemployed have not been infiltrated with agents provocateurs; but if there is incitement of this kind, the seeds of violence often fall on ground that is ready for sowing.

In Rome, after Signor Lanza was thrown out of the university in a manner, as he put it, "reminiscent of the fascist strong-arm action squads", the police were fired on with pistols while clearing the occupied faculties. One

of the workers say: "They want to destabilize Bologna because it is a city run by the left, because it constitutes an invitation to the historic compromise between Christian Democrats and the Italian Communist Party." To which the students reply: "No place is privileged: the economic crisis will also affect Bologna."

Stefano Reggiani

Time to pay up

Helmut Raether talks to Mr Henk Vredeling, the EEC Social Fund Affairs Commissioner. His first question is: what can the Commission do?

Of course, anyone who visits the outskirts of Rome—the suburbs with their very high rents but no social services, the shanty towns—can understand what violence may be hidden around the great city. For young people without work, with nowhere to meet and discuss things, the university has become an ideal rallying place, a free city in miniature, in which the nobility of intentions and the most violent of impulses have come together.

According to Professor Asor Rosa, of Rome University, there are two societies—the employed and the unemployed—which are institutional enemies. According to Professor Renzo De Felice, an authority on fascism, the university is nothing more than an arena, within which the politicians want to keep the violence enclosed. If the unemployed gather in the university, so much the better: you know where they are.

But Professor De Felice denies that the Italian situation is similar to that of 1920 to 1922, which brought fascism to power. However, as one journalist observed, the readiness for action, the contempt for politics, the idea that the world can be changed by an act of will—these are elements typical of the culture which produced fascism, even against the wishes and interests of those who brought it to power.

If we wish our view to be objective we must not forget that, as well as the so-called independent minority which guides the youth revolt, there is a majority still trying to find an unfilled space in the working world, or still striving, within the framework of the traditional parties, to create such spaces.

These are young people who shrink from violence because they do not see any future in it, but who certainly suffer just as much frustration and pain as their companions. This characteristic of Italian youth is very clearly evident at Bologna, a city that has collected together the most advanced and lucid members of the protest movement, and has seen a student killed by the Carabinieri during a demonstration.

The workers say: "They want to destabilize Bologna because it is a city run by the left, because it constitutes an invitation to the historic compromise between Christian Democrats and the Italian Communist Party." To which the students reply: "No place is privileged: the economic crisis will also affect Bologna."

No, it does not mean that at all. Fortunately there are still many young people who have been out of work only for a short time. But there is a very serious situation which cannot be cured overnight in the genuine shortage of vacancies, and this can be solved only by long-term measures. For example, there is a programme in England to prepare young people

better for work. But if we wanted to introduce that for 100,000 young people in the whole Community we would need at least DM200m. And the richer Community countries would have to shoulder more of the burden than the poorer ones.

Are there other, cheaper approaches?

Yes, we have to look at unorthodox methods too. In particular raising the school-leaving age—which you hear a lot about—would make the figures look better. We need new ideas, pilot schemes, at the local level too—after all, when it comes down to it, these unemployed youngsters are not in Brussels. For example, one might consider creating vacancies in the public social services, for the older unemployed as well.

Unemployment costs the Community DM40,000m a year: if we can reduce the size of the problem by half, that would release another DM20,000m, although not immediately.

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Tourist picture

Table 1: Costs for a 1st class weekend £s

	Total	Hotel	Meals	Entertainment	Transport	Port
Hamburg	310	100	120	80	30	
Paris	275	125	85	40	25	
London	215	110	65	20	20	
Rome	180	80	40	30	30	
Average	245	104	78	38	28	

Table 2: Costs for an economy weekend £s

	Total	Hotel	Meals	Entertainment	Transport	Port
Hamburg	140	40	70	15	15	
Paris	85	30	35	10	10	
London	70	30	30	5	5	
Rome	65	20	25	10	10	
Average	90	30	40	10	10	

Table 3: What is included in the costs (1)

Description	1st Class	Economy
Hotel	Luxury hotel with bath	Simply furnished hotel, clean and well kept, without bath
Meals	For two with wine and coffee including service: table d'hôte in hotel "Gastronomic" dinner	Simply furnished hotel, clean and well kept without bath
Entertainment	1st class 1st class	Less good but still memorable
Travel	Best seats 1st class	More modest
	Best seats 1st class	More modest
	—	—
	Taxi Taxi Coach	Public transport (2) Coach Coach
		—

(1) Prices are based on data from national tourist boards but adjusted to include comparability.

(2) Including car hire or all-day tickets where appropriate.

in the other three cities. The meals also are expensive. As a result, to the tourist whose funds are limited, the city will seem to be particularly expensive unless he foregoes all thoughts of gastronomy.

London scores particularly well on entertainment and travel. Museums are free, theatre tickets, especially the best ones, are reasonable, and total transport costs, whether by taxi or public transport, are lower than in the other cities. In Rome, on the other hand, food represents particularly good value and the city comes out as

James Rothman

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BRUSSELS BACKSTAGE

Morale at low ebb

Nothing much happened in Brussels in May. The Community, having got over the ersatz agitation that accompanies the fixing of farm prices, relapsed into somnolence. Two dates, two weekends, stand out in last month's calendar: the economic summit meeting in London on May 7 and 8, at which the Community as such was pretty well ignored and certainly did not play a prominent role, and then the weekend of May 20 and 21 over which the Nine began to formulate a common doctrine on enlargement.

The Commission for its part continues to give the impression of working and thinking in slow motion, of not yet having found a satisfactory cruising speed. After five months, the Brussels engine is apparently still not firing on all cylinders.

The effects of this malfunction can be felt within the Commission: the atmosphere in the Berlaymont building has rarely been worse. Most of the staff are exasperated with the round of administrative reforms, the purpose of which is not obvious, and, worst of all, which seem to be going on for ever.

Entire directorates-general are spending their working days with their eyes glued to the establishment plan, torn between the delights of intrigue and the anguish of insecurity; the one thing that is certain is that the level of morale is not conducive to efficient performance.

What accounts for this unquestionably unhealthy situation? Mr Jenkins, the President, must bear his share of responsibility. Having arrived in Brussels with partly inaccurate ideas about what the Community and the Commission actually are, he has not yet found an effective working style. He is apparently still more concerned with politicking than with making the system work, motivating his colleagues and their staff and attacking the issues of the day.

But it is not by concentrating his energies on each and every turn of such conflicts that Mr Jenkins can best establish his credentials. This difficulty over accepting that the President of the Commission, to be successful, also needs to be an acute technocrat is of course not the only factor underlying the excessive length of this running-in period.

A few exceptions apart, the Commissioners do not seem to have built up many affinities. Things could have gone more quickly and discussions could have proceeded on a clearer footing if the members of the Commission had been divided into two or three political or ideological camps.

This is not the case. The distribution of portfolios, as organized when

the Commission took office, is so artificial and loaded with potential conflicts that it does not make for a well-knit team.

Signor Giorletti's position illustrates this point: is there any chance that the task entrusted to him—coordinating financial instruments—will be defined in concrete terms to his colleagues' and his own satisfaction? There is no lack of other prime examples, for instance the state of confusion in the organization of relations between the Commission and the European Parliament, or indeed between the Commission and the two sides of industry.

The picture is not, however, entirely black, and May was not a completely wasted month. Although the Commission's activities are restricted to administration for the time being, there are areas in which it is working efficiently. One example of this is industrial policy, where M Davignon gives the impression of being on top of his job.

The coherence and businesslike approach to the launching of the second crisis programme for the steel industry augurs well. A plan for the reorganization of shipyards should be out soon. Mr Jenkins for his part is gradually pressing forward with his scheme for increasing the Community's borrowing capacity to enable it to participate in an active policy of direct investment.

This initiative, coupled with reform of the procedures for intervention by the regional fund and the social fund, is certainly of interest at a time when it is generally accepted that one of the priority objectives of the authorities in our countries must be the campaign against unemployment.

The "informal" meeting at Leeds Castle may also be regarded as a healthy development. The position outlined at this time by Mr Jenkins on the problems involved in the possible enlargement of the EEC was an astute synthesis of the often contradictory feelings of the member governments that laid down a line of conduct which is apparently acceptable to the Nine.

The Commission should draw encouragement from this and hasten the finalization of its proposals for the preconditions which the member governments seem to have decided are necessary before enlargement: reform of the rules applicable to the Mediterranean agricultural countries, and, perhaps most important of all, reorganization of the institutions.

In the case of the latter, much is at stake for the Commission. If it does not get its proposals right, if it loses the initiative, there is every likelihood that it will suffer the consequences.

Philippe Lemaître

Return to the regions gives the individual a chance

Europe is a bore. Why? Because for years it has been chasing its tail, preoccupied with its butter, its sugar, its wheat prices, its wine, its member states' obsessive vigilance against possible encroachments upon their rights by their fellow members, and because it occupies itself in generating vast quantities of paper which contribute not a whit to the construction of the Community edifice.

The imbalances are becoming more pronounced. West Germany's annual rate of inflation is moving towards 3 per cent, Italy's towards 20 per cent. The range of growth rates is growing wider, from projected 4 per cent in 1977 for West Germany to 0 per cent for Italy. The combined balance of payments surplus of West Germany and Benelux is likely to be about \$7,500m, while the five other countries promise to show a deficit in excess of \$7,000m. With unemployment, the projected average for West Germany is 950,000 against 1,500,000 for Britain.

What do the citizens of what is becoming such an ill-assorted union think of the relationship between so many fine speeches and the realities of a disjoined Community? Certainly that there is something rotten in the state of Europe.

The Old World was to have played the role of honest broker between the big two, having 30 years ago wearied of the charms of power-seeking. But things being as they are, one should hardly be surprised if it finds no lines to speak or hesitates to take any initiative until the United States has stated its position.

Since it is clearly incapable, for the time being at least, of taking its place in the international policy-making centres which count, would it be too much to expect Europe to give back a little more human warmth to its peoples, to teach them to communicate more effectively, take a collective interest in the issues of greatest concern to them in their daily lives?

Many of the supporters of direct election to the European Parliament by universal suffrage believe that they provide a fine opportunity for lending colour to Europe and releasing it from its technocratic matrix. Why? Simply because the electoral campaign will be played out, not at the level of a supranational abstraction, not on the functionaries' stamping ground in Brussels, but in the living regions of the Old World.

This development is consistent with today's trend in favour of decentralization of decision-making and a return to the regions which have been forced into the background by the industrial civilization.

The individual, like Europe, is looking for his identity in the labyrinth of functions which the division of labour,

the compartmentalization of life, and urban constraints have eventually imposed upon him.

Today, coherence is only to be found in organization, that is in bureaucracy. "I see a man", said Diogenes, holding aloft a lighted lantern in broad daylight. Today's Diogenes seeks the "European citizen" but with no more success.

The strength of the ecologists' and regionalists' movements lies in their rebellion against the technocratic homogenization of individuals. The aim must be to channel these new currents, rather than allow them to degenerate into folklore fads or develop into irresistible and unacceptable centrifugal forces. Could not the European Parliament offer a platform for the expression of the regional cultures which have received scant support from our nations hitherto?

In a report, *The Regions and Europe*, commissioned by the European Community, Signor Riccardo Petrella asks whether it would not be possible to arrange the European landscape on a new basis by rejecting the concept of centralized superimposition while developing existing creative potentialities on the basis of basic social structures.

Regional identification, taking the form of the assertion of the right to be different, has been a recurrent theme in Europe's cultural history. As Signor Petrella observes, it has been a guiding force in the development of European societies, counterbalancing the other major force in the history of the continent: the pressure for unification from the centre (social groups, political parties, economic forces, systems of values). The nation-state is not the be-all and end-all of the historical reality of Europe, nor is it the only important cultural dimension.

Is the rediscovery of the regional dimension compatible with the process of European unification? It is certainly true that the regions today are not what they were before the Second World War. To the Sardinians, Calabrians, Corsicans and so on, the Europe which they knew has now become the Europe of migration. To a lesser extent the same applies to the Scots, Welsh, Bretons and Alsace who have been drawn by economic development towards their national centres or farther afield, to other countries.

If European integration continued to develop along the lines of recent years, Europe would sooner or later find itself in open conflict with the most disadvantaged regions, which would become pockets of active resistance.

Opinion is already divided: for groups of citizens in Brittany, Scotland, Sicily or South-west France, Europe is a rather negative factor, whereas the prevailing view in the Italian Mezzogiorno, which has benefited from European integration, is diametrically opposed.

One of Europe's essential tasks is to avoid the break-up of the Community's territory between opposing regions, which means that it must create the conditions under which the main regional claims can be met. For years there has been talk of economic regional development in Europe and the haggling over the appropriation of funds for this purpose has not been forgotten.

As for the cultural dimension, it has been neglected and Signor Petrella's report has the merit of drawing attention to it, making concrete suggestions for lines of research.

Man needs roots just as much as he needs mobility, hence the need for a plurality of allegiances, a society in the plural in which all sectors of society can participate at their different levels, with equality of opportunity and mutual respect in the continuing task of creating the *civitas*, with the regions looking to Europe to devise the machinery whereby they will soon be able to make an active contribution to the building of the Community.

LEO FIDENZI

FOR P

Mr Leo Fidenzia, the Belgian Prime Minister, was right when he said in a recent interview: "Man identifies not so much with the wider community as with the small group, which perhaps accounts for regionalism. People need to feel at home in a society which does not obliterate the individual, human personality."

The Community must acquire a means of gaining a more intimate knowledge of the European citizen in terms of his regional identity. It should draw up a register of public and private centres and institutes concerned with the study and promotion of regional cultures and languages, going to promote inter-regional contact. European holiday courses on various aspects of regional policy and so on.

Perhaps one of the best chapters in the Timmerman report on the Europe of the Nine is "A citizen's Europe". "It is clear that Europeans can move about within the union, can communicate among themselves and when necessary receive medical care without national frontiers adding to the problem of distance. European union will be for them a discernible reality."

A discernible reality: this is the way to the vitality of the European idea. One must entertain no delusions about the difficulty of the venture, even the Parliament elected by universal suffrage comes into being. Indeed curiously enough, Europe is attracting more and more other states, despite the drab aspect of its bureaucracy.

And when the Nine have been joined by Spain, Portugal, Greece and perhaps Turkey, will not the mode of regions prevail over the oppressive force of centralization? At the same time, for those responsible for the administration of such an ill-assorted entity, there will be a strong temptation to concentrate on the Communauté fonctionnaire and forget the European citizen.

Pierre Drot

SAINTS AND SINNERS

Emanuele Gazzo: censure and harangue

Agence Europe, which has been run since its inception by Emanuele Gazzo, is five years older than the Treaty of Rome—it came into being at the end of 1952, at the same time as the European Coal and Steel Community.

Since then *Agence Europe*, a broadsheet which daily runs to about 15 pages printed on blue paper with no frills and no wasted space, has chronicled Community current affairs in minute detail.

It now appears in three languages: French, English and Italian (the German edition has been suspended temporarily). Multilingual publication is no doubt largely a matter of circulation figures but, in the eyes of the managing editor, it is also a means of demystifying news and making it more European in character. The paper's circulation is not disclosed,

but it is thought to exceed 2,500 copies, which is regarded in press circles as a remarkable achievement for such a "heavy" publication.

The influence exerted by *Agence Europe* lies largely in the mass of information assembled daily by a handful of first-class journalists, which is devoured by business leaders, civil servants, and politicians, but it also rests on Emanuele Gazzo's editorials, which appear four times a week. He rarely settles for mere analysis, but keeps up an unrelenting flow of censure, proselytism and harangue.

Emanuele Gazzo knew Jean Monnet well and still meets him frequently. His convictions, very much in line with those of the first president of the ECSC, have not altered. He wants to see strong European institutions vested with important powers. True to

character, he is voicing total commitment to the cause of elections to European Parliament by universal suffrage.

The attitudes of Europe shared by many people in France on the left-right alike—the distrust of supranational institutions, the preoccupation with independence from the United States, the priority attached to community policies—make his hackles rise because he sees them as so many unnecessary obstacles on the path to a federal Europe.

Nothing is more alien to than Gaullist thinking and, since his convictions this indirectly and sometimes in uncompromising terms relations with France's representatives in Brussels have been some strained from time to time.

Philippe Lem

Michel Debré: living in an honourable past

M Michel Debré, who was General de Gaulle's first Prime Minister, is an honourable man with an honourable past—which he sometimes appears still to be living. Periodically he gives us glimpses of this antique world, in which *la gloire* still burns as fiercely as the midday sun in a distant imperial sky.

Thus in January, when announcing the creation of a committee for the independence and unity of France, he said: "We are Europeans, but the first contribution we can make to the power and grandeur of Europe is the power and grandeur of France."

He appears to believe that this grandeur is dangerously threatened by the plan for direct elections to the European Parliament, which he describes as "an intolerable attack on the independence of the republic".

M Debré's tender concern for France's sovereignty is understandable. He probably did more than anyone else to organize the return of General de Gaulle as France's redeemer, and it was he who, as Minister of Justice when de Gaulle became Prime Minister in June 1958, drafted the new constitution in the master's image. He therefore played a significant role in the rehabilitation of France, and may be expected to

fight vigorously against any threat to France's integrity.

But a man of his intelligence is to be expected to identify these threats with greater accuracy. Most European democrats face real fears from interference with supplies of raw materials, notably from protectionism among their trading partners; from social unrest, political polarization and, to a lesser extent, from international terrorism. Drastic shifts are taking place in the world's economic order.

To launch a crusade against elections, it is time-worn the peasant solidarity which even M. favours is under severe strain, is relevant, and rather sad implications.

Roger Bert

Duty-bound no more

On July 1 the customs barriers come down. This will be an historic date for the economic future of the nine countries of the European Community and for the seven European Free Trade Association (EFTA) countries.

From July 1 goods will be able to move between the 16 countries almost free from customs duty.

After a transition period of more than four years, the fifth and final reduction will be made in customs duty between the six EEC founder countries and the three countries that joined in 1973, Britain, Ireland and Denmark. Duty will be zero. There will then be no internal tariff within the nine Community countries, just as had previously been the case for the six founder countries. This means that goods can move freely within the Community and EFTA countries.

Duty on goods from other countries will also be uniform. Apart from this harmonization, the national purchase taxes, other import charges and VAT will be the same irrespective of whether the goods come from EEC countries or others.

Exceptions have their place even in international commercial law: it is accordingly not surprising that the previous zero tariff on internal trade had an exception. Duty on horticultural products will only be finally reduced to zero on January 1, 1978, at the stage of complete liberalization of intra-Community trade. The same is true for the Community common tariff for non-Community countries,

which will be adopted from July 1 by Britain, Ireland and Denmark. Here too harmonization will only be reached for horticultural products on January 1, 1978.

July 1, 1977, will also be a historic day for trade between the nine Community members and the seven EFTA members. The plan for general tariff reductions—which was part of the free trade agreement between the European Community and the seven EFTA countries left after the entry into the Community of Britain, Ireland and Denmark—led to the reduction on July 1, 1976, to 20 per cent of the original level of tariffs between the Community and EFTA countries.

On July 1 the tariff for the seven EFTA countries, Switzerland, Iceland, Norway, Portugal, Finland, Austria and Sweden, will be further reduced by 20 per cent of the starting level. This reduces the tariff to zero, leaving trade between EFTA and the Community free of duty. With this step all tariff walls are removed on goods involved in visible trade: these are set out in detail in the European Community Tariff headings 25 to 99. To some extent this liberalization also applies to agricultural products, even a bone of contention.

On July 1 Europe comes a step nearer to the goal of Rome where the treaty setting up the European Economic Community was signed on March 25, 1957. Article 9 of the treaty set out as a basic condition of the Community a customs union which would cover all trade.

Hans Ba

...THE ASIAN WALL STREET JOURNAL

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SPORT
 Racing

Bruni to answer long-distance call

By Michael Phillips
Racing Correspondent

English hopes of preventing a horse trained in France from winning the Gold Cup at Royal Ascot next week appear to rest firmly with Bruni and Bright Finch. Today our two leading contenders will be at loggerheads at Sandown Park where the Henry II Stakes is their objective.

Having seen Bruni win the St Leger at Doncaster and the York Cup at York it has long been my contention that one of many more besides that he is at least a mile and three-quarterst to be seen at his best. For that reason there is ground for thinking that he ought to be in his element today when he will be racing over two miles for the first time.

Last year Bruni was kept to shorter races in Europe and it was over ever-shorter distances that he did his racing in California this year when not surprisingly he was not to be beaten. It is good that much firmer than he has been now. Now Bruni is back with Ryan Price at Finsbury and no one knows him better. Today he will be ridden for the first time in a race by Bright Finch's jockey, Brian Taylor.

Today's meeting at Sandown Park having been his previous partners.

Taylor's presence on Bruni's back this afternoon makes today's race even more spicy, because no one is more aware of Bruni's capabilities than Taylor. I am sure he will be very much on his guard this afternoon riding the big Nijinsky colt, Bright Finch, who is well known to like about the way that he ran at Goodwood in the race won by Wahed, who is regarded to be the fastest two-year-old in training at Finsbury.

Blessed Scandale, Derrynell and Swordsman also can run well enough, already to suggest that they, too, should run prominently this afternoon without actually being asked to do so.

I will be interested to see how Free Swinging performs on this his first appearance. Being by Swing Easy, who won the King's Stand Stakes at Royal Ascot last year, he is likely to be a good performer.

Swinging performed well in his first appearance, being by a son of Major General. Sir Randle Feilden, winning his colts' race at Newmarket and the Yorkshire Cup. He has already dubbed Bright Finch as an extremely able young stayer, but it must be doubtful whether he will have much to do with Bruni's speed.

Pigott has usually made all the running on Bright Finch and he will be conscious that Taylor will be shadowing him, playing cat and mouse. These tactics should not be repeated, however, because it was not fully round up at York yet he still managed to beat Grey Baron by a neck. However, late yesterday Jeremy Tree said that Bright Finch would only run if the track were rain-soaked.

Sandown has brought out the best in Grey Baron in the past and he ought to run well again today, because he will be meeting Bright Finch on better terms than at the last meeting at Sandown. Over only five furlongs Rayleton could have most to fear from Our Travelling Man. Our Newmarket correspondent convinced me that the Queen's Jubilee Trust trophy is his. He has been working well enough at home recently to suggest that he ought to win the Wheatsheaf Maiden Stakes.

The Queen is hoping to celebrate her Silver Jubilee Day by winning the £3,000 Silver Jubilee Handicap Stakes at Chepstow this month that 25-year-old Giles Fife and Drum.

If the royal runner is victorious the Queen will receive a Silver Jubilee Trust trophy specially made by her personal silversmith, Professor Beaumey, which the Silver Jubilee



Jelley winning the Brigadier Gerard Stakes at Sandown Park

Trust Appeal agreed could be included in the prize for the race.

Fife and Drum was unbeaten as a two-year-old but he has been a trifle disappointing this season.

However he has been racing over

seven furlongs and I feel that he is probably a sprinter now and simple and that he will be better suited by the shorter distance of today's race. Let us hope so anyway.

Giles ends long wait

Mark Giles emerged from the winner's enclosure at Sandown yesterday evening the 21st of champion Happy Donna, to a runaway victory in the Vyrer Maiden Fillies Stakes. It was eight years ago this month that 25-year-old Giles won his only previous stakes race at an equivalent distance at Wolverhampton. After striking the front two furlongs out, the Michael Scudron-trained Happy Donna came home eight lengths clear

Gallant Welsh plan

Mark Welsh, after his all the world victory in the Gold Stakes last year, yesterday won again at Royal Ascot either in the St James Palace or Britannia Stakes. "I wanted him to have an easy win after two bare races in top company," says Duke Jones, the owner-trainer, with Geddes Welsh, wearing blinkers, as he did when running a good fifth to Relicino in Newbury's Lockinge Stakes, forged clear three furlongs out

Price puts Gallic challenge in shade

By Michael Phillips

Aidan Price won the Brigadier Gerard Stakes for the second time in as many years at Sandown Park yesterday when Jelley came home four lengths ahead of the two Gallic challengers, Roan Star and Laridell. Twelve months ago Anne's Pretender took the prize home to Finsbury; this time it was the grey Jelley who conformed to expectations and his owner, Eesa Alkaifah, by staying a mile and a quarter so well.

"It's what I call a home,"

Price remarked to me later, after admitting that he thought that a mile and a half was too far for Jelley.

Beforehand it seemed that our hopes of beating back the twin-pronged French challenge lay with Norfolk Air and Lord Helpus. But Lord Helpus came in third.

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Easterby skill keeps the versatile Sea Pigeon on crest of a wave

By Michael Phillips

The incredible seven-year-old Sea Pigeon gave a dramatic demonstration of his speed and class when overwhelming his opponents in the Vaux Gold Tankard at Redcar yesterday. All going well in the meantime, the gelding will now be aimed at the £20,000 Northumberland Plate at Newcastle on June 25. Sea Pigeon is also engaged in the Queen's Vase at Royal Ascot next week, but both its owner, Pat Marshall, and his trainer, Peter Easterby, favour a tilt at the richer Northumbrian prize.

Once again the name of Sea Pigeon's victory was breathtaking to watch. Mark Birch settled him down in his place as Prince Pipe made the early running. Approaching the final turn Edward Lee on Redcar decided that it was time to try to sit his gelding and a quarter to well.

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Greig (left) and Mervyn Davies: a potboiler from one, something novel from other.

Barley puts himself in the right odd for England captaincy

Woodcock
respondent

L: Australia beat Eng.
7 wickets.

or scoring 78 against
at the Oval yesterday,
as an opening partner
with Amis. In the
last of the Prudential
Michael Brearley was
to captain England in
two Test matches of the
per.

, who is 35, has played
as for England. His
from 14 Test innings is
verge 24, his top score
India in Bombay. He
Cambridge man to
and home since E. R.
so in 1964 (also against
though A. E. Lewis
MCC team to India in

's innings yesterday and
that he has led England
in the one-day series
put him in the right
mind to make the basis
first Test match starts
on Sunday week. In
the Oval, and with John
selected to help him
England side.

is a ludicrous and to
Prudential Cup matches
and the sponsors seem
not to have to do
that the game was
disastrous. Yesterday
would have called for
had one been out on

, because Chappell is
a brilliant player, and
in the end, with 10
in Oval, will do well
like everyone else on
came off through the
looking like a drowned
surprisingly he was made
of the match and for
the rest of the series
for the Englishmen of
over Amis, who had
108, because Chappell
Australia 38 for one
England's 242, when
a crowd left thinking it
in for the day. By
again, whereupon

yesterday

W: Lancashire 270 for
(F. C. Hayes 90); York-
5 (17 overs).

v Glamorgan

AT OXFORD: First Innings
University, First Innings
1st wkt. 100; 2nd 100;
2nd 100; 3rd 100; 4th 100;
5th 100; 6th 100; 7th 100;
8th 100; 9th 100; 10th 100;

WICKETS: 1-17; 2-15;
3-16; 4-17; 5-18; 6-19;
7-20; 8-21; 9-22; 10-23;

11-24; 12-25; 13-26; 14-27;

15-28; 16-29; 17-30; 18-31;

19-32; 20-33; 21-34; 22-35;

23-36; 24-37; 25-38; 26-39;

27-40; 28-41; 29-42; 30-43;

31-44; 32-45; 33-46; 34-47;

35-48; 36-49; 37-50; 38-51;

39-52; 40-53; 41-54; 42-55;

43-56; 44-57; 45-58; 46-59;

47-50; 48-51; 49-52; 50-53;

51-54; 52-55; 53-56; 54-57;

55-58; 56-59; 57-60; 58-61;

59-62; 60-63; 61-64; 62-65;

63-66; 64-67; 65-68; 66-69;

67-70; 68-71; 69-72; 70-73;

71-74; 72-75; 73-76; 74-77;

75-78; 76-79; 77-80; 78-81;

79-82; 80-83; 81-84; 82-85;

83-86; 84-87; 85-88; 86-89;

87-90; 88-91; 89-92; 90-93;

91-94; 92-95; 93-96; 94-97;

95-98; 96-99; 97-100; 98-101;

99-102; 100-103; 101-104;

102-105; 103-106; 104-107;

105-108; 106-109; 107-110;

108-111; 109-112; 110-113;

112-115; 113-116; 114-117;

116-119; 117-120; 118-121;

121-124; 122-125; 123-126;

126-129; 127-130; 128-131;

131-134; 132-135; 133-136;

136-139; 137-140; 138-141;

141-144; 142-145; 143-146;

146-149; 147-150; 148-151;

151-154; 152-155; 153-156;

156-159; 157-160; 158-161;

161-164; 162-165; 163-166;

166-169; 167-170; 168-171;

171-174; 172-175; 173-176;

176-179; 177-180; 178-181;

181-184; 182-185; 183-186;

186-189; 187-190; 188-191;

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196-199; 197-200; 198-201;

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206-209; 207-210; 208-211;

211-214; 212-215; 213-216;

216-219; 217-220; 218-221;

221-224; 222-225; 223-226;

226-229; 227-230; 228-231;

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236-239; 237-240; 238-241;

241-244; 242-245; 243-246;

246-249; 247-250; 248-251;

251-254; 252-255; 253-256;

256-259; 257-260; 258-261;

261-264; 262-265; 263-266;

266-269; 267-270; 268-271;

271-274; 272-275; 273-276;

276-279; 277-280; 278-281;

281-284; 282-285; 283-286;

286-289; 287-290; 288-291;

291-294; 292-295; 293-296;

296-299; 297-300; 298-301;

301-304; 302-305; 303-306;

306-309; 307-310; 308-311;

311-314; 312-315; 313-316;

316-319; 317-320; 318-321;

321-324; 322-325; 323-326;

326-329; 327-330; 328-331;

331-334; 332-335; 333-336;

336-339; 337-340; 338-341;

341-344; 342-345; 343-346;

346-349; 347-350; 348-351;

351-354; 352-355; 353-356;

356-359; 357-360; 358-361;

361-364; 362-365; 363-366;

366-369; 367-370; 368-371;

371-374; 372-375; 373-376;

376-379; 377-380; 378-381;

381-384; 382-385; 383-386;

386-389; 387-390; 388-391;

391-394; 392-395; 393-396;

396-399; 397-400; 398-401;

401-404; 402-405; 403-406;

406-409; 407-410; 408-411;

411-414; 412-415; 413-416;

416-419; 417-420; 418-421;

421-424; 422-425; 423-426;

426-429; 427-430; 428-431;

431-434; 432-435; 433-436;

436-439; 437-440; 438-441;

441-444; 442-445; 443-446;

446-449; 447-450; 448-451;

451-454; 452-455; 453-456;

456-459; 457-460; 458-461;

461-464; 462-465; 463-466;

466-469; 467-470; 468-471;

471-474; 472-475; 473-476;

476-479; 477-480; 478-481;

481-484; 482-485; 483-486;

486-489; 487-490; 488-491;

491-494; 492-495; 493-496;

496-499; 497-500; 498-501;

501-504; 502-505; 503-506;

506-509; 507-510; 508-511;

511-514; 512-515; 513-516;

516-519; 517-520; 518-521;

521-524; 522-525; 523-526;

SPORT

Football

Challenge thrown out to England's quality, character and intelligence

From Norman Fox
Football Correspondent
Rio de Janeiro, June 6

Having failed to re-establish themselves among the better teams of Europe, or even of the British Isles, England arrived here this morning in the other football world power block, hoping, perhaps pretentiously, to bring some of the South American skills of Brazil on Wednesday, Argentina next Sunday and Uruguay on Wednesday week. It would be more realistic to view this short visit and long journey as an opportunity to find barbs, and to gauge the standing of England on a broader plain.

The most instructive match

should be next on Wednesday.

Last summer England lost by

1-0 to the Brazilians in Los

Angeles. Brazil are still rebuild-

ing and their critics say their

progress is no more promising

than England's. More seriously,

are traditionally representative of

South American teams.

Argentina, who will automatically qualify for next year's World Cup final competition as hosts, have

been drawn by a movement of

players to Europe, 1-0 to West Germany in Buenos Aires

yesterday. Uruguay have failed to

qualify for the final stages of

the World Cup for the first time

since 1958.

One message relayed from this city some months ago is still a challenge to England and other European teams on tour here this summer. Cesar Luis Menotti, Argentina's new manager, said:

"England and West Germany run

too much and think too little.

With South American teams, the

fault is the other way round. But

it will be easier for me to per-

suade my players to run for

Europe than for them to play

in Europe."

Recent performances by

England, notably against Scotland

on Saturday, fit his description

all too painfully.

Within the last six weeks South

Africa will have adequate op-

portunities to judge the validity

of that comment. Apart from

England, other visiting teams are

West Germany, Poland, East Ger-

many, Yugoslavia, Scotland and

France. Poland beat their tour

last week to Argentina.

The next few days should tell

whether England may yet manage

to form a team capable of return-

ing to Argentina for the final

stages of the World Cup. Time



David Pech: expected to replace Mills against Brazil.

is short but two are good for building relationships, and it will be the best of the five European teams his country will face this month. But he added that he did not think England would reach the World Cup finals in Argentina next year.

Brazil's players were un-

impressed by Scotland's defeat of

England. Claudio Coutinho, the

present manager, had hoped to use

the match as an example in pre-

paring his team but the players

were disappointed in the game.

Both teams lacked imagination.

Mr Coutinho, however, said that

Brazil would need to switch positions

continuously to overcome the tactics

of such defences.

It also shows the need to use

both sides which are good at high

balls." This winter's

cross the ball into the goal area

and two or three attackers always

formed the national team.

Pech suggested a basic

mistake had been made in 1973

when Kiev Dynamo, a club side,

formed the national team.

Motor racing

Saldanha says England will not qualify

Rio de Janeiro, June 6.—John Saldanha, the former manager of Brazil, believes that England will be the toughest of the five European teams his country will face this month. But he added that he did not think England would reach the World Cup finals in Argentina next year.

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THE ARTS

Precious little space to spare

The two exhibitions British Artists of the '50s at the Tate and the 1977 Hayward Annual at the Hayward Gallery have a strong relationship. This is not surprising as Michael Compton played a large part in choosing and organizing both shows. Compton is Keeper of Education and Exhibitions at the Tate and also a member of the exhibitions committee of the Arts Council. He is thus a man of consummate power in the art world. The Tate exhibition was organized by his department and he chose the Hayward show with two artists: Howard Hodgkin and William Turnbull.

The show at the Hayward (until July 4) is a first helping: seconds (or is it pudding?) come from July 20 to September 4. Many of the artists who appear in the Hayward Annual appear also at the Tate, some don't, and vice versa. But generally inclusion in the Hayward seems to depend on whether you are doing something similar to what you were doing in the Sixties, but in a smoother, more sophisticated way.

If, not Derek Boshier, for instance, His The Identikit Man of 1962 is one of the better paintings of the English Pop school. It's funny and still fresh. It hangs next to Hockney's The First Marriage of the same year in the Tate show and I'm not sure that the Boshier painting doesn't now seem a better picture. But today Boshier works in very different ways. He hasn't taken the standard line of careful, polished development which marks so many of the artists at the Hayward, and he remains a more interesting artist than most of those included. Boshier wasn't represented in the huge Arte Ingesi Oggi exhibition in Milan last year either, the selection of which was remarkably close to the Hayward Annual. Apparently the idea of giving each artist a separate room-like space was inspired by the Milan show.

The individual rooms allow the artists' work to breathe on their own. It also separates the sheep from the goats. An artist needs resilient qualities to survive in these secluded white spaces. Among the goats are two artists of an older generation, Kenneth Martin and John Latham. Now in his early seventies, Martin is painting better than ever before, extending his superb series of chance and

precious little space to spare

Order pictures in vigorous celebrations of the duality of the two great life-principles. Latham has taken the space allotted him and made a piece which uses sound as well as elements which have played an important part in his earlier work—books and "one-second" bursts of sprayed paint—which are here combined into a complex whole concerned with the process of time and the possibilities of describing it in art.

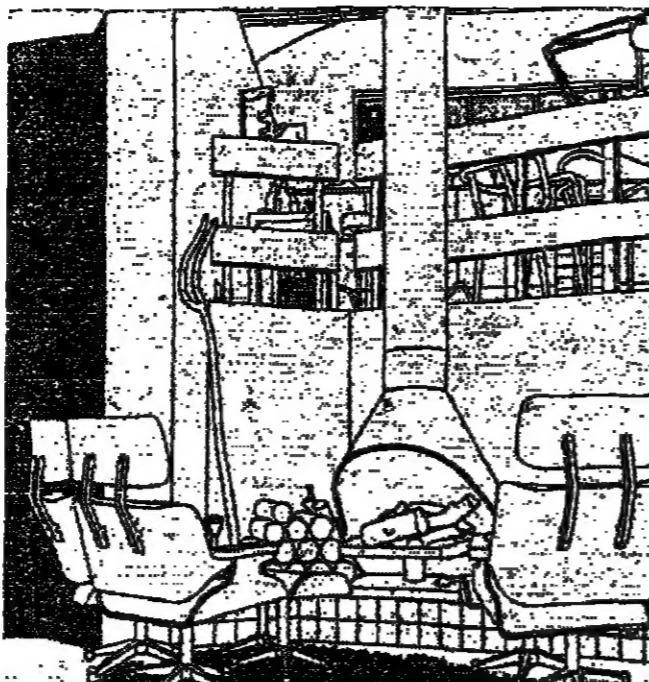
Neither Martin nor Latham got much recognition in the Sixties; their retrospectives at the Tate came during the last two years. (There is a work by Latham in the British Artists of the '50s, but for some reason none by Martin.) The Tate is showing the beautiful piece by Ian Hamilton Finlay, Starlit Waters, the free-standing name of a fishing boat symbolically covered with a net. Although Finlay was working on pieces like this in the Sixties he was almost totally ignored in Britain. (The Tate purchased Starlit Waters only last year.)

Most of the artists at the Hayward made their names in the early Sixties. Most of them show at the Waddington and Tooth gallery and most have had shows there over the past year or so, often of the same or very similar work as is in evidence at the Hayward. What is the point of displaying this all over again?

The literature department of the Arts Council produces an anthology of volumes of New Poems and New Stories. These are a mixture of a few quite well-known and published names with those who are little known or unpublished. It doesn't fill its poetry anthologies with poets who have had books published by Faber during the past year. Why does the art department then come up with what is the equivalent of this?

One gathers that the Hayward is booked up with exhibitions for years ahead. So why fill precious space for the whole of the summer (June to September) with what could be seen in Cork Street? British art gets enough airing in London. What we need to see is a much more varied selection of work from abroad.

Last week, reviewing the excellent American exhibition at the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge (until June 18), I omitted to mention one of the best paintings in the show,



Patrick Caulfield in the Hayward Annual exhibition: In My Room, 1974

Palm, by Ellsworth Kelly. Kelly is one of the finest, and one of the least known of American artists. To the best of my knowledge he has never been given a solo exhibition in Britain. Apparently, Kelly was offered a slot at the Hayward by the Arts Council. Kelly said he would if he could have the whole gallery to exhibit in. (He is one of the few living artists who could fill the whole of the Hayward and emerge from it with reputation enhanced.) Good heavens, said the Arts Council, what confounded arrogance. So no Kelly retrospective.

One advantage of having several one-man Waddington exhibitions in one place at the same time, rather than successively, at the Waddington, is that it is possible to compare one artist's performance directly with another. Some artists whose recent work looked quite well at the Waddington, like Allen Jones and Peter Phillips, appear much less good at the Hayward. (Others, like Bernard Cohen, looked bad there and look bad here.) But this is hardly sufficient to justify such a lavish display of the familiar.

In retrospect the Sixties seem as repulsive and materialistic a decade as the Twenties, with its mindless enthusiasms for technology and sex. (Sir Harold Wilson's phrase "the white heat of technology" unwittingly

encapsulated that unsavoury combination.) Peter Phillips' paintings, little known here until his Waddington one-man last year since his early success in the Sixties, combine those elements into sleek and physically repellent paintings, which nevertheless perfectly capture the glittering superficiality of the age. He is probably as little aware of it as was Sir Harold Wilson.

The most impressive room at the Hayward is that of paintings by Frank Auerbach. Auerbach matured in the Fifties, but the Sixties, but he produced work consistently and developed as a thoughtful, lonely figure through that decade. The new paintings strike out towards an area which is close to that occupied by Francis Bacon, but with much less self-indulgence and a more vigorous attitude. In fact when Kenneth Martin he is just about the only artist in the show who realizes that line is as important an element in painting as colour.

To indulge still further our nostalgia for Sixties art and artists, the Battersea Park Sculpture Exhibition which died a natural death in the late Sixties has been revived for jubilee year. I hope to discuss this show next week along with the Henry Moore exhibition in Paris.

Paul Overy

ECO/Vasary Bath Festival

William Mann

Bath's most elegant and favourable concert hall is in the Assembly Rooms. Since their refurbishment the availability of the main auditorium has surely placed concerted chamber music at the centre of Bath Festival's syllabus. There, memorably, the festival brought us Barshai and his Moscow Chamber Orchestra, Menuhin with friends and colleagues in trios, quartets and the like, Iringard Seefried and her colleagues in evenings of Wolfe's

early work, written just after he arrived from Bonn in Vienna as a young, leonine pianist. He was still an eighteen-century composer, in this work much influenced by Mozart's quintessence, but the invention is strong and attractive, for listeners as for performers, and the work deserves its repertory status as the best young Beethoven, not yet progressive but solidly Viennese classic in style.

Music of such special kind demands a rapport not to be found in ad hoc collaboration, but prescribes also a certain stellar brilliance from all concerned. The ECO's wind quartet offers devotion, instinctive empathy of ensemble as expected and just the right degree of solo pride and artistry in prominent passages, even concerted solos. Fortunately Mr Vasary was at one with his colleagues, giving and taking as the music prescribed, a proper chamber musician.

At first the tone of his piano sounded a shade plummy in the middle of the keyboard, but his articulation was eminently clean and scrupulous. Later, in Beethoven, the sound appeared quite acceptable unless one had heard those works played on a fortepiano of the period, which does enliven the music of the concertante occasions in the right hand, chords in the left hand, rayed bravura even though Mr Vasary played as if mindful of the sound Mozart knew.

The placing of trills by all was not truly stylish.

By themselves, the ECO wind played Elliott Carter's Eight Etudes and a Fantasy, quite an early work (1950), characteristically needle-sharp in resource (one of the more enjoyable studies consists of a common chord swapped between the instruments most subtly and briefly).

Mr Vasary's solo contribution was Chopin's B minor sonata, big-boned account, full of temperament, determinedly at the very end, yet instinct with relish for those who know and adore the piece, and who hoped to appreciate its glories anew.

Beethoven's quintet is an

ripped the veils from some political, military or economic crisis. Exploratory fire-side chats with Len Murray, David Owen or Washington's chief Salt negotiator constitute one of television's more useful democratic functions.

Sunday's programme, the last of the current series, was not, however, highly successful. Looking determinedly regal and abandoning none of her analytical rigour, Mary Holland burrowed behind the bonhomie and the bunting to see how serious the current threats to the stability of the realm really were.

Potentially they are very serious, of course. We did a quick trot through 500 years of economic history with the aid of engravings, cartoons and a collection of historians and political theorists.

We were shown examples of the pernicious economic effects of company taxation, personal taxation, price restriction, wage restraint, and trade union hegemony. We met a newly politicized teacher and some parents who supported him. We heard a call for more government intervention in the economy, and another call for less. We heard an evangelical plea for immediate legislation on industrial democracy. This edition meant well, but it overreached itself.

Sometimes its approach has been disastrous, but more often it has not. Many is the time that I have sat glued to my set, albeit in dismay, as Peter Jay and Mary Holland have

been absolutely no concessions to lazy or hedonistic viewers. Like the Open University programmes with which it runs in parallel, it adopts a relentlessly didactic stance which would be disastrous if applied to anything other than the most riveting subject matter.

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The secret side of Candida

Eighty years ago, in the summer of 1897, Bernard Shaw's "mystery" play *Candida* was first presented to the public at Her Majesty's Theatre, Aberdeen. This, as the *Aberdeen Journal* noted, was "a risky experiment"; but the drunken scene, Shaw was later told, had been "much appreciated".

Candida—a new production with Deborah Kerr opens at the Albery on June 23—had taken two months to write and two-and-a-half years to get performed. The time had been ripe, Shaw judged, for "a modern pre-Raphaelite play. Religion was alive again, drawing back upon men, even upon clergymen, with such power that not even the Church of England itself could keep it out". The Reverend James Mayor Morell, the glib, sanguine, popular Christian Socialist clergyman, is Shaw's pre-Raphaelite; his Raphaelesque Marchbanks, and the unconvincing poet. Their rivalry over Morell's wife *Candida* somewhat agitated the examiner of plays for the Lord Chamberlain: "I beg to point out", he warned, "that there are one or two situations in this place that require most careful interpretation, or they might easily become offensive...". He was particularly nervous about the opening of Act III where *Candida* and Marchbanks are alone at "pass ten in the semi-monthly unreality".

Critics have mesmerised themselves over the identity of Marchbanks. Did Shaw have Yeats in mind, or Shelley or, as he claimed, De Quincey? "I certainly never thought of myself as a model," he protested when Morell is the 18-year-old Shaw, and by being De Quincey's account of his adolescence as a device behind which to conceal himself Shaw wrapped the part up in semi-monthly unreality.

As for *Candida*, she is an enticingly imagined figure, "a true Virgin Mary" as Shaw noted on the manuscript (and not as Beatrice Webb objected, a prostitute), who embodies those feelings in love with her to return to child hood and start again. Marchbanks's new start is the "secret in the poet's heart" with which the play ends. Shaw was besieged all his life by "Candidamaniacs" wanting to know this secret. In a letter to one of them Shaw explained that Marchbanks had come to realize "that life at its noblest leaves mere happiness far behind... Happiness is not the object of life: life is an end in itself; and courage consists in the readiness to sacrifice happiness for an intenser quality of life".

It was to this intenser quality of life that Shaw strove to bring Janet Achurch, a voluptuous fair-haired actress whose charm, magnetism and instinctive intelligence had, Shaw believed, failed to win her the position to which she was entitled. Together with her husband Charles Charrington, she had been responsible for making the work of Ibsen (in William Archer's translation) known to British audiences. Shaw had been to see her as Nora in *A Doll's House* three times during June, 1889, and declared himself "irradiated, transported, fired, rejuvenated, bewitched, by a wild and glorious young woman..." Unfortunately Janet, who had contracted typhoid, was becoming a morphine addict. Shaw, believing that addiction to work was the strongest medicine, pined his will against her weakness and the ruthless inefficiency of Charrington. By turning *A Doll's House* upside down and showing the doll in the house to be not the woman but the man, Shaw had designed the sort of part and play in which Jane could

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As a child in Dublin, Shaw had grown up in a curious ménage-à-trois, his father's position as head of the house being usurped by a meagre conductor and daringly original teacher of singing called George John Lee who trained Mrs Shaw's voice. Lee's impact on the Shaw household had been a revolutionary, and although GBS seems to have anaesthetised his feelings over this arrangement he continued to admire Lee as a phenomenon. His own impact on the Charringtons was equally meteoric, as it was on the marriage of William Morell's daughter, May, and on the friendship between Ellen Terry and Henry Irving. Lee had been Mrs Shaw's salvation: Shaw proposed through the medium of *Candida*, his drama of a three-cornered relationship, to be the salvation of Janet.

Janet Achurch

